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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

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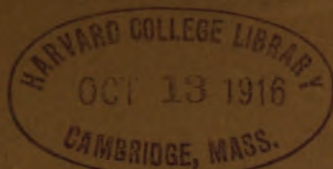
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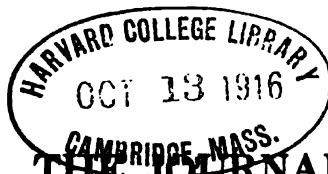
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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

Vol. 7

JULY, 1916

No. 1

## THE MEXICAN BORDER PROBLEM: AN AUTHORITATIVE EXPRESSION OF THE MEXICAN VIEWPOINT<sup>1</sup>

*By Honorable Luis G. Bossero, Mexico City*

The history of the Mexican revolution is a long one. It is the history of a people struggling against all kinds of oppression, oppression from the Spanish conquerors, oppression from native dictators and oppression from powerful foreign concessionaries sustained many times by their governments. Yet the Mexicans have won the final victory at home after the bloody struggle of the last five years.

And now when we are at peace, when the de-facto government is endeavoring to restore order and begin the reconstruction of the country, we are confronted with the possibilities of war with a mightier nation. This war or intervention—it is designated by both terms—is the result of the plottings of the enemies of Mexican reform and progress, who are the losers in the fight against privilege and monopoly. These parties have succeeded in creating a state of lawlessness on some parts of the border which has resulted in the sending of an expedition into Mexico. There is every evidence that the people who have been urging the American government to intervene in Mexico for over two years were the very same men who helped to bring about the sad conditions on the border. Your Honorable President admitted that fact and even warned the American people against it, when he declared four months ago that there were persons along the border

<sup>1</sup> An Address delivered June 29, before the Conference on International Relations held by the International Polity Clubs, at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

who were trying "to create intolerable friction between the government of the United States and the de-facto government of Mexico, for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican property."

It is to be regretted that at the time the Mexican raiders were pursued your government went to the extent of bringing into Mexico an army of 14,000 men with artillery, aeroplanes, etc., but left the mischief makers on this side of the border, those "American owners of Mexican property" or their agents to continue their operations with impunity. If mighty and weaker nations were accorded the same rights in this world, Mexico could have found as much right to send an expedition into the United States to prevent those "American owners" or their agents from doing mischief, as the United States thinks it had to send one into Mexico to prevent the raids. The United States army now assembled in Mexico might have been more effectively employed in the suppression of the raids by a convenient distribution of its forces along the border, in order to protect every region of it from the invasion of the raiders, and would have had moreover the advantage of preventing raids from being organized on this side of the boundary, as it is suspected was the case in some of them—the Glenn Springs raid for instance.

I am referring now to American suspicion,—American suspicions of Americans, as well as of Mexicans. Very well, we Mexicans are also suspicious of you. Indeed mutual suspicion is one of the causes of this threatened war. The gathering of such a force at one point and that point within the boundaries of Mexico is looked upon by the Mexicans and by many Americans as the first step towards actual intervention or war, for these two names mean the same thing.

Let us consider now whether the United States has a sufficient cause or has a right or anything to gain by intervening or making war in Mexico under the pretext of the border raids. It is nearly ten months since the Villa and Zapata factions of Mexico were annihilated. It is because of

this fact that the government of the United States tendered its recognition to Carranza's government as the de-facto government of Mexico. The military work of that government ever since has been directed toward the suppression of brigandage, which always follows in the wake of civil war, and to the civil work of restoring normal conditions throughout the country.

General Porfirio Diaz, to whom all credit was given in this country and elsewhere for pacifying Mexico, was busy for over three years in the suppression of brigandage, even after he had been recognized by the United States. President Juarez was busy for more than four years in exterminating the small bands of bandits which resulted from the French invasion of 1862. But to speak to you of more familiar facts, I need but to remind you that, although the American Revolution ended with a declaration of peace by Great Britain in 1783, yet it was not until April 30, 1789—*six years!*—that the organization of the present American Commonwealth went into effect. The American Civil War ended in April, 1865, and yet Federal troops were quartered in the South, and scenes of riot and disorder were frequent through the conquered territory for *ten* years. During the *ten* years referred to, conditions frequently became so unbearable to the residents of the southern states that they had recourse to a secret and illegal organization known as the Klu-Klux-Clan. The activities of the James brothers in the state of Missouri in the seventies transcended in violence any of the activities practiced by either the Villistas or the Zapatistas in Mexico today; and these two outlaws and their followers held the state at bay for a number of years.

The American Civil War was a fight between two organized armies, one of them the victor under the management of the lawful government of the country. Consequently when the war was at an end the greater part of the country came back automatically into its normal condition. The Mexican revolution has had deeper consequences than your Civil War. It has upset privileges and prejudices and it has put an oppressed and enslaved people on the road to



freedom and democracy, without having the advantage you had, of having a lawful government during the whole period of the struggle. Yet it is only ten months of peace that we have enjoyed, and our condition today is not worse than was this country's for several years after the struggle was over.

The head of the de-facto government, Mr. Carranza, is surrounded with well intentioned, able men who are busy trying to solve the many problems which confront the first government after such a convulsion. The government controls every one of the twenty-seven states of Mexico. The machinery of both federal and state governments is now in operation discharging its duties and functions. A few scattered bands of Zapatistas in the southern mountains are being pursued or starved into submission and the Villista bands have been almost exterminated. Thus the government has practically all the territory of Mexico under its sway and nothing remains as far as order is concerned but to cope with bandits and a lawless situation that necessarily follows in the wake of civil war.

The only cause of uneasiness today in Mexico is the stay of the American force which by its proportions and strength cannot be called a punitive expedition but an invading army. As a matter of fact uneasiness is the result of the stay of a foreign army in any country in the world. The "German" invasion of Mexico by the United States troops handicaps Mr. Carranza's work of pacification and reconstruction, emboldens the malcontents at home and the enemies abroad, causes a decrease in the public funds and is the cause of excitement in every class of society. Instead of checking the mischief-makers at the border, it only provokes them to new attempts, as has been seen in the raids of San Benito and San Ignacio, because some of the ignorant believe it is patriotic work to raid the United States territory as a retaliation. Others, bandits and cattle thieves, see their chance in their state of uneasiness, and the foreign interventionists, to whom the President alluded in his recent statement, are gratified by the outcome of their agencies and are likely to produce

more raids since they see in the invasion the practical result of their endeavors.

At the same time all classes of Mexicans believe that an expedition which was purported to pursue 500 bandits can not properly be increased into an army of 14,000 with field artillery—an army calculated to be used only against regular forces—and they cannot fail to draw a parallel between the present situation and that just before the war of 1847, which was forced on Mexico by the same methods as those now being used, as American historians have told us. The Mexican government is placed in such a position that to permit the stay might mean revolt and subsequent civil struggle, and to remonstrate against it or request its withdrawal leads to the sad occurrences of the last June days. In fact nobody in Mexico can believe the United States government can wish well to Mexico or try to help its government by this means of sending an army of invasion.

It is enough to say now that the sensationalist and predatory press is largely responsible for feeding to the American public a mass of misinformation and distortion of facts and exaggeration of trivial incidents. This forms a part of the deliberate endeavors of interventionist interests which have set their minds on bringing war with Mexico for their personal ends. Among the malevolent group stands out the name of William Randolph Hearst, as chief marplot, with James Gordon Bennet, editor of the *New York Herald*, as his able second. Along with this pair may be coupled the names of numerous lesser lights of journalism in the border country, where such papers as *The San Antonio Express* have striven ever since the advent of Mr. Madero to the presidency of Mexico to bring about hostile intervention. They have gone so far as to issue papers in Spanish with a view to inflaming the resident Mexicans of the United States along the border. But to stop this the Mexican government is impotent and the representations of our consuls at the border towns have been met with indifference.

Of course it follows as the result of any war that many

foreigners will loose their lives, others some property and others liberty. It would be impossible to conduct a war without some of these results. In the American Civil War, the lives of a great many foreigners were lost and much property destroyed and there were many claims asserted against the United States growing out of the conditions referred to. No adverse conclusion should therefore be drawn from the fact that a number of Americans have lost their lives in, and as a result of, the Mexican Civil War. The number of Americans killed during the actual European War is far greater than those killed in Mexico. In the sinking of the *Lusitania* alone, 115 lives were lost, while during a period of five years as stated by Secretary Lansing less than 200 Americans have lost their lives in Mexico. It is also noticeable that notwithstanding the peaceful condition of the United States in the same period, more than 200 Mexicans lost their lives in Texas and along the border.

But if this comparison is favorable to Mexico, there is something else which deserves your kind attention. Most of the loss of life and property occurred during the war with Villa, and we should not forget the fact that if Villa turned his arms against Carranza, it was to a great extent due to the intervention of two well known agents of the United States state department, and also to the endeavors of the enemies of Mexico in this country to boost Villa as a great hero. He was also permitted to import all his arms and ammunition from the United States. Villa had so much support in this country that when he was smashed by General Obregon in five successive battles, many endeavors were made to bring Carranza to compromise with him. Regardless of the fact that each day's report from the fighting front indicated unmistakably that the Villa army and the so-called convention were speedily disintegrating, the American administration continued to urge upon Carranza the necessity of dealing with his weakened enemy, and it was not until the Latin-American diplomats, with their thorough understanding of the situation, were called in, that the administration finally discerned that Carranza

constituted the dominating force in Mexican public affairs and the soul, source and fountain head of the executive power of the republic. It is also to be observed that Villa had that support in spite of the atrocities attributed to him during the fight against Huerta, of which two at least had been investigated and found absolutely true. I refer to the murders of Benton and Shaw. Whereas a year ago South and Central America were indifferent to Carranza, there is today an unanimity of opinion extending from Costa Rica southwards to Cape Horn, that the Carranza government is the actual existing dominating government in Mexico and should be treated as the sovereign power of that nation. Latin America is of one mind with regard to the American so-called "punitive expedition." It is believed in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the great powers of South America, as well as among the lesser nations of this hemisphere, that the present attitude of the United States government is one of unreasonable prejudice and unfairness to her nearest neighbor.

Mexico stands good for all claims for damages caused by the revolution in lives, liberty and property, of Americans and other foreigners, illegally taken in the course of the prosecution of the war. This is the only way that reparation can be made. Mexico will stand good for those claims, even when most of the looting and life taken and general violation of international obligations in Mexico, were done by Villa and his associates when he was countenanced in this country, and not by General Carranza and the government agencies under him.

A nation is generally not justified legally, under the principles of international law, in intervening in the national affairs of another country except when the country referred to has so flagrantly and continually violated its international obligations that there is no other recourse. What I have said of the situation in Mexico will serve to show that no such condition has heretofore existed there or now exists. The war has been over for a number of months and the taking of life and destruction of property as incidents of war are practically at an end; and there



remains therefore, but one thing that is worthy of discussion in this connection, and that is whether or not the raids at the border would justify intervention by the United States into the affairs of Mexico. It must be admitted everywhere that these raids are organized for the purpose of destroying the peace and friendship between the governments of Mexico and the United States and I have already quoted the very words in which President Wilson has warned publicly the nation against that fact, in his statement a few weeks after the raid of Columbus.

If this is true, this situation ought to bring the two countries closer together in a firmer and warmer friendship rather than make them enemies; and it should emphasize and enforce the necessity of coöperation between the two governments in bringing about the coöperative patrolling or policing of their respective borders, by the soldiers of the two countries on their respective sides. In other words, the cause of the friction and the menace, to wit, the raids, should be prevented in the future by the co-operation suggested instead of by sending into Mexico an army, which moves secretly and without the knowledge of the Mexican authorities, for in the better case the Mexican government cannot see its way to coöperate.

There would be no justice in the United States intervening in the affairs of Mexico simply to prevent raids when the surest and most feasible way to prevent them is to devise means for their prevention by a frank understanding between the two governments. And this frank understanding can not exist so long as you keep in Mexico an army which is only calculated to disturb the country and to prevent the pacification of it.

But there are precedents in American diplomacy which make this point very strong. The *New York Evening Post* of June 24 prints an interview given by ex-Governor Baldwin regarding the American expedition in Mexico. Governor Baldwin said: "There is no doubt as to the rules of international law in regard to this. Nothing is better settled than that no nation has the right to send armed soldiers into the territory of another nation or to keep

them there without first getting its permission." Then Mr. Baldwin pointed out the difficulty the United States had with England in 1837, when some Americans fomented an insurrection in Canada from an island near the Canadian shore, with the aid of an American vessel, which brought over supplies and men from the port of Schlosser in New York. The Canadian officers sent over an expedition by night and after capturing the boat sent it over Niagara Falls, one American being killed in the attack. The President of the United States sent a message to Congress, saying that an atonement was "due for the public wrong done to the United States for this invasion of her territory" and added:

To recognize it as an admissible practice that each Government, in its turn, upon any sudden and unauthorized outbreak, on a frontier, the extent of which renders it impossible for either to have an efficient force on every mile of it, and which outbreak therefore neither may be able to suppress in a day, may take vengeance in its own hand without even a remonstrance and in the absence of any pressing or overruling necessity, may invade the territory of the other, would inevitably lead to results equally to be deplored by both.

Afterwards when Mr. Daniel Webster became Secretary of State, while this affair was unsettled, he wrote to the British minister at Washington that the only justification alleged was the right of self-defense but that that right did not justify the invasion of the United States soil unless the British Government could show that

the necessity for it was instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation, and even if those were the conditions the act justified by the necessity of self-defence must be limited by that necessity and kept clearly within it.

Mr. Baldwin also states that correspondence followed with Lord Ashburton in which the British and American governments agreed on these principles: that

respect for the inviolable character of the territory of independent nations is the most essential foundation of civilization; that a strong overpowering necessity may arise when this great principle may and must be suspended, but that it must be so for the shortest possible period during the continuance of an admitted over-

ruling necessity and strictly confined within the narrowest limits imposed by that necessity.

After that Mr. Baldwin states that the main question now is whether or not the United States troops have outstayed their time in Mexico, even if they went in with permission of the Mexican government. Now let us consider whether the American expedition has been in accordance with this principle set forth by the government of the United States. After the raid of Columbus the American government sent an expedition into Mexico without even advising the Mexican government. When the Mexican government knew of the expedition, it requested the United States to come to an agreement by which both governments might coöperate in sending troops into each other's country for the pursuit of bandits. The United States admitted that in principle an agreement should be made but at the same time declined to consider that present expedition in this agreement and even in the case of further expeditions, declined to subscribe to any condition regarding the zone of its operations, the time of its stay, the arms to be taken into Mexico, and the number of men to form the expeditions. Under this condition it was impossible for the Mexican government to come to an agreement, so Mexico had recourse to the conference between Generals Scott and Obregon; but General Scott was unable to agree to a limitation of the stay of the troops or to accept any plans for coöperation, on the contrary, he wanted the American forces to operate independently. Mr. Carranza, therefore, could not approve of that agreement, and further negotiations were suspended.

Contrary to expectations in this country, the original expedition sent from Columbus, met with coöperation from the Mexican military authorities. General Pershing definitely reported that he had been furnished with scouts. This was stated by Secretary Baker in his interviews with the *New York Times* of March 16, 22 and 26, and the *New York Sun* of March 22. But soon afterward, the expedition was increased into an army 14,000 strong, with field artillery, infantry and other war machinery that could

only be intended to be used against the regular army of Mexico. The movements of the American army were kept secret not only from the Mexican authorities but even from the American public. Even newspaper correspondents to this day date their messages "somewhere at the front." At the same time arms and ammunitions purchased by the Mexican government were embargoed by the federal authorities under pretext of representations made by peace societies—an excuse which was not admissible in the face of the large shipments of munitions sent to Europe every day.

Nothing short of contemplating further trouble with Mexico could explain the embargo put on ammunition for Carranza at the same time he was urged to use his munitions in the extermination of bandits. Moreover, as the continuous interference of the United States government has fostered disturbances in Mexico for quite a time, this interference was becoming more material day by day. Mr. Carranza felt himself compelled to request your government to define its intentions towards Mexico. That is the note which has been so contemptuously spoken of by the antagonistic press and which seems to have angered the administration. In the drastic reply of the state department, your government has gone at length into the outrages and damages suffered by American citizens during the revolution and with the recent raids on the frontier, but gives no concrete or direct answer to the main inquiry of the Carranza note: namely, the further intentions of the United States. At the same time it may be observed that this reply contradicts many statements given to the press by members of the President's cabinet.

Now returning to the stay of the United States troops in Mexico, I will call your attention again to the fact that it is precisely those troops that are disturbing the peace in Mexico. The mere presence of a foreign army weakens the executive in any nation, and much more if that is combined with frequent foreign threats. That army is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the government and is calculated to encourage sedition and outbreaks sooner or

later, so that Mr. Carranza is confronted with the dilemma of foreign complications or renewed civil strife. Is that the way to aid in the restoration of peace in Mexico and the rehabilitation of a de-facto government? Is that consistent with the friendship and good will so frequently proclaimed by President Wilson?

As a matter of fact only three raids have taken place including Columbus. The other two were Glenn Springs and San Benito. The raid of Columbus was a matter of common talk along the border nearly two weeks before it took place and even Mexican authorities warned Colonel Slocum who commanded the garrison of that town that Villa was marching against him. Colonel Slocum acknowledged the advice of the Mexican General Gavira but failed to prepare himself against the attack and was taken by surprise. Many Americans in Columbus were willing to send a protest against Colonel Slocum for that negligence.

The raid on Glenn Springs was made possible by the small garrison which was kept there, only nine men—an invitation to attack.

The raid on San Benito was an affair of outposts and neither civilians nor the military had casualties because due vigilance was exercised by Colonel Parker.

Nobody can explain how troops stationed within the state of Chihuahua can protect the American border at points more than a hundred and fifty miles distant. The 14,000 men of the Pershing column withdrawn from Central Chihuahua and properly disposed along the American border in the states of New Mexico and Texas would end every danger of border raids of any sort from Mexican territory into the United States. In other words, Mr. Wilson's punitive expedition has been at the expense of Texas and New Mexico rather than to their advantage and protection.

And effective protection can be made by withdrawing those troops from Mexico and extending them along the border; the withdrawal would at the same time relieve Mexico from every cause of uneasiness, restore the confidence of the Mexican people, first in their own govern-

ment and next in the honor and integrity of the United States—which at the present moment is sadly at a discount.

The answer to the problem of restoring peace in Mexico is comparatively simple. It may require a modicum of charity or patience or self abnegation on the part of the people of the United States and your President, but the cure is as certain as the disease is at present severe. This is the cure:

Withdraw the troops to a point within the boundaries of the United States. Create a staunch and strong patrol. Let the soldiers of the Constitutionalist government proceed with the work of bandit suppression and in turn you will create to the southward of your boundaries, first a new confidence among the Mexican people in the fairness and the earnestness of purpose of the government of the United States. Along with the creation of this sentiment will come a renewed confidence on the part of the people of Mexico that their own government has the respect and trust of its powerful neighbor and, therefore, is entitled to the respect of all law abiding citizens at home. Mines will resume their operations, the ranches will begin to ship their cattle northward and southward; railway communication will be restored and the financial situation will therefore in turn improve. With new confidence in the future, Mexico will ask nothing more than to be let alone and the Americans, nearest neighbors and internationally holding the most intimate relations, will find friendship resumed and Mexico looking with hope to a prosperous future in which the United States cannot help but participate.

## THE WAR TO BE ENDED AS A "DRAW"

AS VIEWED FROM CHINESE INTERESTS

*By Gilbert Reid, D.D., Director-in-Chief of the International  
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Crush—this is an old word, but only lately has it become current. It is one of the most musical and bewitching in the English language. It is a Christian word as interpreted by "higher criticism" and takes the place of the old word "destruction." It is a word around which all forces can rally, like the words "Duty," "Honor," and "God," as used in olden time.

Whether the word is equally current in French, Germanic and Slavic, I do not know. The idea is certainly there; it is in fact an intuition of all animal creation. In the American language both the word and the idea have suddenly come into being. Americans are always quick to learn from others. According to the latest dictionary, the word, "crush," is probably of German origin, from a derivative of the word seen in Gothic. Thus, just as it ought to be, the merit for producing this sweet, tender, monosyllabic word rests with the Germans, not with the Anglo-Saxon-Jute portion of the Teutonic race.

The verb to crush—is crushing, is crushed, will crush, will be crushed, may be crushed, won't be crushed—are all forms of the same predicate, both active and passive, of which the noun Germany is the subject. As a rule, the wish is to make the verb passive, but to do this, the noun, that is, Germany, must also be made passive.

This idea of crushing some one—of crushing the "enemy"—has taken possession of the human mind altogether too much during these awful days of awful war. "Vengeance is mine," now saith the jingo. No one country is exempt from the "craze." The passion to destroy, to annihilate,

to crush, to wipe out, has spread among the nations like a death-bringing epidemic. It has spread from Christian Europe to Buddhist Eastern Asia.

There are three theories as to the issue of the war in Europe; one that Germany is crushed, the other that the Allies, and chiefly Great Britain, are crushed, and third that there is a "draw." The probability is rather in favor of the last hypothesis. Others argue for the necessity of one or the other view. To my mind, looking at the matter from afar, I see no possibility of the British, the French and the Russians, to say nothing of their other Allies, ever reaching Berlin, or succeeding in starving out the German, Austrian and Hungarian peoples. Neither does it seem to me at all likely that Germany, aided by her brave Allies, will be able to march into London, to say nothing of Paris and Petrograd, or to enter victorious into all these places at one and the same time. If perchance one side should crush the other, that day will see the crusher also doomed to a fall, by a suicidal act, through the inevitable consequences, of national bankruptcy. At present, however, I am only concerned with the working-out of the respective theories in their bearings on China and on foreign relations in China.

Suppose, then, that the Germans are the ones who declare that the war must be fought to a finish, and that they must conquer, to the point of crushing, Russia on the one side, along with the Balkan states of Servia and Montenegro, and on the other side, Belgium (which has already been badly and harshly crushed) and then France, and then Great Britain with all her colonies, and then Japan, and lastly any other country which hereafter may deem it expedient to join in with the Allies. The very statement of the supposition reveals its gigantic absurdity. I doubt if any German, in his wildest fancy of pride and delusion, has so much as thought of such an hypothesis. He may have determined to crush England and cripple England's navy and trade, as *The London Times* has asserted, but no German can have the slightest hope of thus crushing *all* his enemies.

Still, suppose that the impossible happens, what would



happen in China? Manchuria would then be a field for German enterprise, instead of Russian and Japanese; Port Arthur would be handed by Japan to Germany with a view of ultimately being restored to China; Dalny would become a second model German town; Weihaiwei would become a third such town, both fortress and sanatorium; Japanese soldiers, railway guards, pedlars and such like, with all their dignitaries, would sadly roundabout-face and return to the Rising Sun; Annam would be ceded to Germany by France; and Germans everywhere in China would be fêted, honored, and made the guides of the people, and the only advisors of the Government. The German language would drive out the English; and Germania rather than Britannia would rule the waves.

We would, indeed, be in a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth Might. Even Americans in China would receive a shock, as they call to mind how their fellow-countrymen had done their level best to help England and France to win in Europe. American schools, which now exceed those of the British, Germans and French, put together, would also feel the pressure of transformation into something German. This would, indeed, be a delightful prospect, but it is what would likely happen, *if* Germany and Austria-Hungary should *crush* all their present enemies.

Suppose, on the other hand, that Germany is crushed. Who will have the honor of crushing her, of entering Berlin, of taking the lead in turning out the Hohenzollerns, of establishing a republic, of bleeding the people, and of re-making the map of Europe, whether England or Russia, Japan or France—the Oracles have not yet told us. In this case there are some Britons who have a more vivid imagination than their own German cousins, and have actually declared that they must not stop until this crushing process is completed. That is the reason why two or three years are spoken of as the time limit of the war. As it is wrong and dangerous for Germany to come out on top, so the only alternative is for Germany to be crushed under foot of men. Personally I do not believe in the possibility or the piety of this proposition.

Still, suppose that this supposition were realized, while the changes would not be so overwhelming and upheaving as in the first supposition, yet none the less, in the long run, they would be almost as momentous and calamitous to China. First, German ships would disappear from these waters. Many of the German hongs would cease to have their being, and most of the German merchants would find it convenient to be naturalized as British or American. German Tsingtao would be dominated by the Japanese, even if nominally restored to China. The railways and mines of Shantung would become Japanese possessions. The northern half of the Tsin-Pu railway would also be Japanese. All the money that Germany has spent on the development of China would be sunk, and China would not be the richer therefore. The Catholic missions in Shantung, started by Germans, would revert to French protectorate. The Protestant missions would be disbanded, and their few converts would be transferred to American Presbyterians. German schools would struggle along for a while, and then decide to go over to the victor. Between the Russian domination in the north and the British in the Yangtze there would be naturally placed the Japanese, while in the south there would come, hand-in-hand, Belgian and French domination. China would have no other recourse open to her, save that of bowing to the victorious Allies. Germany as a menace would cease to be, and some other menace would take its place. America would still advocate the policy of "the open door," though its application to China would carry no weight.

In fact, if all these Powers should be able to subjugate the Central Powers, there would remain the greater problem as to which of them would have the right to be on top, and which complacently underneath, though equally on top of Germany. So far as China is concerned, the Briton would claim the right to a full-fledged predominance. The French, the Russians, and even the Japanese, would have to play second-fiddle in the entertainment of catching trade, and re-modeling China. Judging even from present symptoms, long before any victory has been reached, the

British would claim the right, because they have the power, to squeeze out the American. So far as China is concerned, the American would fare no better under the Briton's haughty domination, than under the German. In fact it is the British, who are crusading for trade, and the weakening of other traders, and this when as yet they have done but little in winning any great battle. As for China, she may well fear any such outcome of the war, as she may fear a German victory all along the line.

Now comes in the third supposition, that of a "draw," some kind of compromise, peace with honor for all, with justice to all, and with none of this barbaric craze for crushing. This view, which others cast aside with a slur, is to me best from the standpoint of China's interests. The Briton who demands the right to rule both sea and land, and fights to crush, and the German, proud and stern, who also wishes to rule and to have the first "place in the sun," and to crush the Allies and especially England, will suffer equal disappointment. No one country and no one man carries all the blame for this awful war. No one nation in these days of international brotherhood need expect that other nations will cease to float a flag, to trade under the flag, or to sail ships with that flag at the mast. In this war each nation is blaming some other nation, and all must suffer together. No nation need expect to gain any great advantage over the rest. The war is one of the highest folly, and only One can be the arbiter, the One who never does wrong, and whose name is One and the same with the word Good.

Under this supposition what will happen in China? The Germans as well as others—British, French, Russian, Japanese, Americans—will have the right to live and to do business. They will have the same chance to render service to God and to man, in their own way. No one can say, "I am holier than thou." Tsingtao will revert to Germany, for her to hand back to China when the right time has come and remuneration is given. All that the Germans have started to do for the good of China, and all that others have started to do, will one and all, in the spirit of fairness,

be allowed scope in coming generations. Every nation will have the same right to trade, to teach, to preach, and to sing his own national anthem, "with none to fear or make afraid." Nations as well as individuals will learn contentment. China will be left in possession of her own territory, having any kind of a flag that she wants, giving the same privileges to all peoples, and receiving from them help, good-will and confidence.

This fine prospect of conditions of China is what we were coming to, before the war. We certainly preached "equal opportunity for the commerce of all nations," and included in treaties and conventions and official Notes this pious profession of good-will to China. Through force of circumstances the theory of each nation, allotted a special "sphere of influence," was gradually being discarded. There was more and more the feeling that we all had better try to help China, and be friends to each other, in true cosmopolitanism.

Since the war, lines of demarcation have been drawn, and, if I am to speak the truth, mostly on the part of England. The Trading with the Enemy Act was issued from London, not from Paris, Petrograd, Toyko, or Berlin and Vienna. Under this semblance of law, the British officials in China have issued prohibitive mandates to every one. They not only tell their own people to attempt no trade with an "enemy," but they hamper in every way possible the trading instincts of other people, and put on their Black List the firms of neutral countries. The British have great schemes on foot for excluding German trade from China, both during the war and after. A friend of a German is also put under the ban. Thus has the honorable Briton been metamorphized out here in China, presenting a pitiable spectacle to the "heathen Chinese," and even to the Japanese Ally.

Does any one wonder, then, that I devoutly pray, that for the sake of China and the rest of humanity, victory will descend on the arms of neither side? We need to come back to the sentiments and ideals more and more springing into being, before the war—the sentiments of brotherhood

and charity, and the ideals of universal peace, free trade, free seas, fair competition, and a Court of International Justice, to decide the questions between nation and nation. I hope for a return of the policy of allowing *all* nations to trade in China, and to coöperate, not in the subjugation of China, but in her peaceful development and the maintenance of her rights, inalienable and God-giving.

The third hypothesis appeals to me, and I believe it is what China, realizing her own best way of salvation, will also pray to see most speedily fulfilled. Even superficially it is more just and generous, yea, more Christian, than any theory of crushing.

## THE LATE YUAN SHIH-K'AI

*By Gilbert Reid, D.D., Director-in-Chief of the  
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If a clergyman is called upon to perform a funeral service, it is generally regarded as not being in good form to seize the occasion for berating the deceased. Polite society in the West invariably speaks of a man's good points, when Destiny has once ended his earthly activities. Polite Westerners are eager enough to disparage a man while he is living, but are chivalrous enough to condone one's mistakes and exalt one's virtues, when he has passed to the Beyond, out of all hearing. There is a vice that craves nourishment in scandal and misrepresentation, and there is a charity, born from above, which is prompt to cover a multitude of sins. No higher courtesy and larger charity have ever been illustrated by a nation's leaders, than in the British Parliament, when on the decrease of a member of the government or a member of the House, the leader of the opposition arises from his seat to pay a tribute—a Gladstone mourning an Earl of Beaconsfield.

Every public man is apt to be misunderstood and misjudged, certainly from those who are opponents. Correct judgment, a fair-minded and charitable criticism of any strong man, who has enemies as well as friends, must await the passage of the years, and sometimes it comes not at all.

The late President of China, Yuan Shih-k'ai, has established a reputation among all nations. Like Li Hung-chang, he is one Chinese who has become a familiar name and a real personality to all in the world whose thoughts turn to China. And yet his death is a sad one. On his last days the shadows rested. He knew that he had not reached the mountain-top of a nation's affection. He was conscious that he had foes, who misread his every deed, and though he had the courage to meet the strife,

he could not escape the depression which the irrevocable placed before him. One thing he did not know, and it is to be hoped he does not know it now, and that is how few are the words of appreciation, which his own countrymen have chivalrously uttered, now that he has gone, and can grant them no more favors nor determine their future prospects.

For several years I have been drawn to other religious faiths, merely through the process of speaking of their good points alone. I fancy most of us would soon feel the thrill of admiration for Yuan Shih-k'ai, if we could only take time to follow the same process. I am pleased to offer a mere iota of eulogium, all the more pleased to do so, now that I have nothing to ask or he to give.

Before remarking on his public career, his motives, and his character, it is a pleasant duty to record his friendly acts to the International Institute and to me personally. With an acquaintance begun over twenty years ago, there have been many marks of his personal favor. At the Centenary Missionary Conference, he, while acting as Viceroy of the metropolitan province, designated a special deputy to speak at a reception which the Institute gave to the missionaries and guests from afar. During the closing days of the Manchu House, when I visited Peking to advise the princes to consent to abdication, Premier Yuan assured me of his appreciation of my mediating efforts. When in 1914 I was in Peking to secure presidential approval of an international museum, it was President Yuan whose known countenance of my plans made them a success, resulting in a rescript granting taels 35,000 (about \$20,000). He also accorded me an audience. At the twentieth anniversary of the International Institute, the President appointed a delegate to represent him to express his good wishes. Most of the documents and memorials which I have prepared on public questions have been submitted to him, and more than once has he let me know that he appreciated my independent, but sympathetic criticisms.

His first responsible position was as Chinese resident

at Seoul. He performed his part well in standing up for the rights of China in Korea, as opposed to the new claims and all the pretexts of Japan, which ended in war. Nearly all the foreign residents in China, looking at the issue from an impartial standpoint, regarded Japan's entrance into war as without reason. As the result proved disastrous to China, so Japan's dislike of Yuan Shih-k'ai, born in that war, has been a heavy weight to him all these years.

The next stage in the events of his life was during his return to China after the negotiations for peace. It was then that I first met him. The circumstances were interesting. It was the summer of 1895. For the second time I gave a dinner to the younger men in official circles in Peking, with a view of organizing a movement for reform. The Chinese guests were invited to meet Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard, whose mind also dwelt on reform. Among them was Yuan Shih-k'ai. The questions asked Dr. Richard by young Mr. Yuan showed him the most keen and practical of all those who were present. An immediate result of these gatherings was the formation of the Reform Club of Peking, to whose support Mr. Yuan had won the strong viceroys, Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-yi. Yuan Shih-k'ai, in days of great conservatism, was a reformer.

The third stage was when through the mediation of Jung Luh he was designated to raise up a model army, according to Western methods. The drilling-centre was at Shao-chan. Yuan Shih-k'ai achieved more than had been expected.

The fourth stage was in 1898, when the Emperor Kuang-hsü rushed through his reforms. We do not know the exact part played by Yuan Shih-k'ai in bringing the Empress Dowager back to power, and in making the young Emperor a prisoner. It would be generous for us to conclude that he thought the Emperor, while sincere, was acting rashly, and that his threatened restraint of the Empress Dowager, while helpful to himself, would be disastrous to the country. If Yuan was the betrayer which his enemies declare, how is it that Liang Chi-chi'ao ever consented to hold office under him?



The fifth stage was when, in 1899, as the Boxer movement arose like a flood in Shantung, Yuan Shih-k'ai was appointed Governor of that province. He succeeded in protecting the missions and missionaries, in holding in check the Boxers, and in resisting the orders of the Throne to join in exterminating or expelling all foreigners.

The sixth stage was when the Court, which had fled to Hsi-an fu, was emboldened to return under promised protection of Jung Luh and Yuan Shih-k'ai. Henceforth Yuan Shih-k'ai was the strong man of the north as Liu K'un-yi and Chang Chih-tung had been the strong men along the Yangtsze.

The seventh stage was when he became Viceroy of Chih-li province, and started schemes for reform, as a model to other provinces. He was able to induce the Empress Dowager to adopt many of the same reforms, which in a more precipitate manner had been undertaken by the Emperor.

The eighth stage was as Minister of State in Peking until the death of the Empress Dowager and Emperor, and his retirement under orders from the Emperor's brother, the Prince Regent, Prince Ch'un. During these years he and Chang Chih-tung stood at the head of the reform movement and of the demands for constitutionalism.

The ninth stage was during the period of retirement. So far as we know, he avoided all plots against the government, and retained a sincere interest in the nation's welfare.

The tenth stage was when in the revolution of 1911 he heeded the entreaties of the Imperial Government, Chinese and Manchu alike, and assumed the autocratic control of the Empire, while in name he was only Premier. It is only fair to believe that he sincerely believed in the retention of the Boy-Emperor, and was willing to act the part of Premier, if so desired. His generous treatment of the Imperial family and the Manchu people leads one to this generous judgment.

The eleventh stage is the last one, since the Ch'ing House abdicated, and a republic was inaugurated, with Yuan Shih-k'ai as President. These four years and more have been full of strenuous, unflagging, and courageous

endeavor to strengthen the foundations of the State, to usher in prosperity, to execute reforms, thought of through many years, and to ward off dangerous encroachments from without. The check he placed on Parliament, whose members too often seemed indifferent to the highest public interests or to their own good name, his suppression of the second revolution, and the increased concentration of power in the Central Government under his own leadership, were all acts characteristic of a strong mind working for the country's good as well as of one selfishly ambitious and untrue to the nation. Had he not been President, the twenty-one demands of Japan, to say nothing of Japan's military transgressions in Shantung, would certainly have brought on war, with the greater downfall of the State. His self-restraint, his freedom from passion, his patience and good-nature, his circumspection and far-sightedness, saved the nation. If, too, there had been provincialism rather than centralization, the State would have crumbled under the hammerings from without.

President Yuan suffered the most from the monarchical movement. One or two things are clear. At the time, only a few months ago, the pendulum had swung from a loose kind of democracy to some kind of monarchism. As a matter of fact, a form of state is not vital to national existence. As we read the events, even this near, the President thought it wise, characteristic of free institutions, to have the question of form of State thrashed out once for all. His first suggestion was that he stand aside, while the people, or the mouth-pieces of the people, expressed their preferences. In going thus far, I for one am not inclined to condemn. What happened afterwards, all the secret telegrams and hidden pressure, did not happen, I am ready to believe, with his connivance or knowledge. In the misdeeds of his friends, who cast liberty to the winds, and grasped at glory, he has been made to suffer, while they go unscathed.

President Yuan was a man of strong determination, unflinching courage, unusual practicality, wide experience, developed adaptability, unbounded cheerfulness and buoy-

ancy, and one who sought the welfare of his country. We regret that his last days were not the brightest. We trust that the time will come, when his meritorious services will be appraised at their true worth, and in a generous, dispassionate spirit.

We look for peace in the land, and pray for wisdom to the new President, but we are glad to stop for a moment to place a wreath of honor and affection before the tablet to his memory.

## THE MOHAMMEDAN PROBLEM IN THE PHILIPPINES. II

*By Colonel John P. Finley, U. S. Army, formerly Governor  
of Zamboanga District, Moro Province*

We acquired the Philippines in our conflict with Spain in such a way as apparently to soften the bitterness and terrors of warfare and disclaim the selfishness of greed. A sort of benevolent assimilation of the Islands has taken place in which our possession is based on conquest, treaty and purchase. In gaining the full title of sovereignty from Spain we took the usual steps, under the provisions of international law, and according to the judgment of the American Congress, to protect the inalienable rights of the many races of native people who inhabit the Islands. We solemnly bound ourselves, before the world, in the treaty of Paris, of December 10, 1898, to insure the undisturbed possession, by all of the natives of the Philippines, of their rights to enjoy freedom of speech, liberty of the press, peaceable assemblage to petition the government for redress of grievances, and the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship. The guarantee of these personal rights is found in the organic law of the Philippine Islands (Civil Government Act, approved and confirmed by the Congress of the United States, July 1, 1902), which declares as to religious belief, "that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, *shall forever* be allowed."

It is important to consider carefully this provision of the Act and observe that it declares, "that *no law* shall be made" to interfere with one's religion; but this does not prevent proselytizing by individuals and societies; and all denominations and sects possess equal privileges in this respect.

The Moro knows little or nothing of our law-making system and less of its technical details, but he is peculiarly sensitive to the actions of individuals and believes that they, if professing Christians, to some extent at least, must represent the government. Whether they are in any official capacity or not matters little, so long as are they Americans. In the danger from such influences are revealed some of the difficulties in the problem of the control of subject people, and especially those of Pagan and Mohammedan beliefs. In the case of the Moros this sensitiveness concerning their faith is aggravated because of their long and bitter contest with Spain in resisting the influences of the Roman Catholic Church. Mohammedism and Roman Catholicism are so diametrically opposed in their essentials as to preclude unity.

Our very first contact with the Moros occurred on May 19, 1899, when the American troops relieved the Spanish troops at Jolo, on the island of the same name, in the Sulu Archipelago. On August 20, of the same year, followed the Bates Agreement, sometimes called the American-Sulu Treaty, with the Sultan of Sulu. In these beginnings of our relationship with the Mohammedans of the Philippines we conceded, without thought of opposition, their perfect freedom of religious worship. We conceded it as a matter of personal right and also because our treaty with Spain required such action. In making that treaty Spain was anxious to protect the Roman Catholics, although she cared nothing for the personal religious rights of the Mohammedans and Pagans. The American government, however, being founded on the corner-stone of freedom, and being non-sectarian and non-religious, must of necessity accept and abide by the liberal terms of the Paris treaty, as to the security of personal rights for all of the natives of the Philippines, whether Catholic, Mohammedan or Pagan. And the Congress of the United States has obligated itself forever to protect the religious freedom of these people; to the extent at least of passing no law that would deprive the Mohammedans and Pagans of their accepted faiths, or interfere in the free use of their established forms. The statute books of all of the Christian nations of the world

exhibit many humane, wholesome and benevolent laws—such as the Congressional Act granting religious freedom to the Mohammedans and Pagans; but this fact does not of itself signify that the laws are strictly enforced, or that some of them have not become a dead letter and therefore ineffective. Nor does it mean that all of the people understand these laws, or their full rights under them. The legal assumption that “ignorance of the law excuses no one,” may be strictly applied to the educated and cultivated classes, but not generally to dependent-subject people, and to the uncivilized. According to Christian standards the Moros were classed as dependent-subject people and uncivilized, and could not be expected to understand or even know of all American legislation affecting them. In the beginning of American occupation of the southern Philippines we classified and considered the Moros collectively as savages, and their practices as barbarous. Naturally our first personal relations with these people came about through military expeditions and trade. The American troops required labor, materials and native-prepared products. The acquaintance that came through these industrial channels affected the common people more than their chiefs and their sacopes or followers. The common people or taos had a distinct eye to business, while the chiefs and their sacopes viewed these commercial transactions as a profitable means of securing arms and ammunition with which they could offer resistance to the white Christian, who seemed always to be planning to impose his religion and customs upon others of a different faith and habits. This was true to a greater degree of the Mohammedans than of the Pagans, and of the coast people than of the hill people. The Mohammedans and the coast people were armed and trained in making resistance, while the Pagans and the hill people were of necessity engaged in agricultural pursuits and therefore more peacefully inclined.

The Bates expedition to the Sulu Archipelago in May, 1899, was a peaceful mission although of military equipment throughout. It was commanded by Brigadier General

John C. Bates, U. S. A., and proceeded under the orders of Major-General E. S. Otis, U. S. A., the politico-military governor and commander of the Philippine Islands. It was prepared for any emergency. The Spanish troops still located in the southern islands were clamoring to be relieved by the American troops and General Bates was possessed of the authority necessary for taking over the control of the Sulu country from the Spanish commander at Jolo, the chief city and seat of government of the Sulu Archipelago. This taking over the country of the Joloano Moros should have been accomplished without undertaking any treaty obligations with these people. The Joloanos possessed no powers of sovereignty after July 20, 1878, and the treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, had already transferred Spanish sovereignty to the United States, the only sovereignty then existing in the Philippine Islands. The Moros did not understand the transfer of sovereignty and ownership from Spain to the United States, whereby the control of their country passed from the Spaniards to the Americans. They did know that the former were leaving the islands with great haste, and that the war that had been waging between the Filipinos and Spaniards was suspended for the time being, but, as a matter of fact, even this knowledge was confined to a few of the principal chiefs, especially those of Zamboanga, Jolo, Cotabatu and Malabang, all bordering on the Celebes Sea.

The great mass of the Mohammedans were wholly ignorant of the real situation for several years after the accomplishment of the Bates mission. And even now not a few of these people are in the dark as to the real purposes of the American government, regarding their ideals and their future, owing largely to a lack of continuity in our policy of control. The change from military to civil control on January 1, 1914, in the Moro Province of the southern Philippines involved many modifications which will never be fully understood by the Moros. The change was not only administrative but political as well. The old officials were replaced by new ones possessed of entirely

different viewpoints and acting under entirely new instructions and laws.

The reorganization was made as revolutionary as possible and so tended to convince the Moros that what had been taught them before was erroneous; that their American lawgivers had changed their minds, and having done so once could readily repeat the wabbling. They are impressed by the facts that the Spanish and their first American governors were satisfied to denominate them Moros, but under the new regime they are to be called Filipinos; that the name of their territory was changed from the Moro Province to the old military title of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, in order apparently to get rid of the word *Moro*; that colonies of Filipinos are implanted in their midst and furnished with supplies and other assistance that had never been proffered the Moros; and that their freedom to pursue their faith in Islam is abridged, on the assumption that the Moros are in reality not true Mohammedans and possess only a veneer of that religion, from which they could readily be weaned. The true Moro is a courteous listener, spare in his words, accustomed to intensive thinking, and when his mind is made up, to resort to a quick decision, from which there is little or no appeal, or retreat. The best of the Moros have always scouted the idea that they were not true followers of Islam, but they have not hesitated to say that they could be better, and ought to be better servants of the Koran. They have shrewdly pointed out the fact that not a few of the white Christians were not what they should be, as alleged professors of a different faith; that there were backsliders in all faiths and that Islam was no exception to the rule; and they prayed hard and long for a high-class teacher of Islam, in order that they might learn of all the virtues of their faith, so that their people could be guided aright, saved from all sin and made better servants of the government under which they lived. It is not contended that all, or even the majority of the Moros are in possession of such ideas as these, but that there are a sufficient number of such men to form effective units, from and through which, under proper en-



couragement, the regeneration of these people can be accomplished along the line of their own culture and religious faith. It is the line of least resistance and promises the best results. The idea that a man cannot be saved to himself and the community because he is a Moslem is bigotry.

No American has ever undertaken the administration of a Moro community or rancheria without, in a short time, being impressed with the peculiar reserve of these people, especially manifest among their leaders. Most foreigners have attempted to explain this attitude on the natural and easy assumption that the Moros are wild and unmanageable; that such habits are an evidence of savagery and show a lurking disposition to committing some crime; and that the acts of a few misguided Moros indicated the tendency and purposes of the whole tribe, notwithstanding the protests to the contrary, of the better element. While officer in charge of civil affairs in the department of Mindanao and Sulu, 1902-1903, I attempted to make a character study of these people but was prevented from obtaining satisfactory results because of very limited communication with the non-Christians. It was not the policy at that time to mingle with these people with the view of obtaining control over them but rather to keep them at a distance for military and political reasons. The officials moved about under the protection of troops for the safety of themselves and the property in their charge. The non-Christians were equally guarded in their relations with us and harbored suspicions of our intentions. They knew that the Americans (people of the West as they called us, in distinction to the Spaniards as the people of the East) were trying to handle a new job and were in doubt as to the best way to undertake the task. We accepted the dictum of Spain and of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Moros were savages and should be treated accordingly. The Moros were justified in believing that a change of masters meant no change in the attitude of the Americans, as to their religion, and that fact troubled them more than the question of food and shelter, or the want of any other necessities of life. To be deprived of

their sacred faith was worse than death in any form. Aguinaldo and his followers, in the southern islands, encouraged the Moros in the belief that the Americans would have no respect for their religion and customs, and that therefore the non-Christians should join the Filipinos and drive out the greedy people from the West. But the Moros knew from long experience that the Filipino could not be trusted in any such agreement, and therefore the proposed combination was never effected; and later on some of the Moros joined the Americans in suppressing the Philippine insurrection. Even this friendly coöperation did not mean that the Moros had full confidence in the Americans and that the latter would respect their religion and customs. It was an opportunity to get back at the Filipinos, their perennial enemy, that the Moros appreciated.

And thus we arrive at a measure of understanding concerning the characteristic caution and coldness of the Moros, as the Americans found them in 1899. In the beginning, under military control, we underestimated the shrewdness of our non-Christian wards and misinterpreted their reserve. On the assumption that they were savages and could not be dealt with as civilizable groups, it was not difficult for the governing and governed to drift apart. In fact, such relations encouraged both open and secret resistance. The basis for such resistance, under purely civil control, is both religious and political: religious, in that those in authority are unfriendly towards the Islamic faith; and political, in that the Filipino caciques are committed to a plan that contemplates the amalgamation of the Filipino and the Moro, with a view of eliminating the latter and his religion. Spain utterly failed to eliminate either the Moro or his religion. But the Filipino politicians and some Americans are strangely obsessed with the idea that the result can be attained by legislative enactment, and a change of tribal designation. The idea appears to be that the Moro will not be a Moro if the law so provides and he is classed under some other title. Under such conditions there can be no real bond of sympathy between the government and the Moros. There will be respect and obedience

on the part of the governed but duty will be perfunctorily performed in the absence of a deeper and more lasting regard, akin to filial love and devotion. These attributes are distinctive in the Malay Mohommedan. Extending due consideration to his peculiarities and ideals generally brings forth a natural and spontaneous response of obedience, founded on confidence, and reverence for the exercise of the readily accepted power of leadership and control.

To gain and maintain successful control of a dependent-subject people of Malayan birth requires the adoption and application of a policy of administration that takes into careful account the ideals of such people, as exhibited by the best of their native leaders. Their governors must thoroughly and conscientiously study their habits and aspirations and acquire familiarity and sympathy with them. No peculiarity, however small, should escape their notice and certainly no opportunity to manifest interest and sympathy in them. Things that appear childish to another race are to these people of the utmost importance and cannot be ignored or forgotten without a serious loss of influence. Feelings and habits are strong factors among them.

In Act 787, June 1, 1903, of the Philippine Commission, an attempt was made to secure a rational and sympathetic control of both the Mohammedan and Pagan tribes in the southern Philippines. By this act a Mohammedan province was delimited and set apart, with a special form of government, believed to be adapted to a successful administration of the affairs of the Moros and their allied Pagan people. This territory was denominated the Moro Province and its inhabitants were brought under the control of Act 787 and its amendments, as the organic law of that region. Civil Governor, afterward Governor-General, Taft was the father of this law and he especially, together with other members of the Philippine Commission gave much time, extended research, and very earnest labors to its preparation. A separate and distinct form of government was thus inaugurated for a separate and distinct class of people. These people had demonstrated the ne-

cessity for such consideration by their long and successful contest with Spain, in behalf of their religion and of their ideals. Spain had failed to successfully govern in spite of a prodigious trial extending over three hundred years, before the problem fell to the lot of the Americans. In a measure we profited by that failure, but not to the extent we should have done, even though we were unaccustomed to the problems of colonization. This means that we should be more deliberate in our conclusions and methods, and carefully measure the probable progress of the dependent people, according to the restrictions imposed on their ideals; that we should consider that this progress is a question largely of evolution and less of legislative enactment and judicial process; and that the ideas, methods, practices and aspirations of the *governing* people, however suited to their needs and expectations, may be wholly impracticable for the people to be *governed*.

The Spanish navigators, governors, priests and conquistadores who participated in the government of the Philippines were very courageous, highly intelligent and industrious men, but strongly wedded to their own ideals, and dominated by the unreasonable resolutions and plans of their bigoted kings. They ignored the significance of the overwhelming sway of Islam, which had operated to crush out a thousand years of Hinduism in the East Indies, Borneo and the Philippines. The Spanish kings were determined to introduce, propagate and maintain the Roman Catholic faith throughout their new possessions. The Spanish acquisition and colonization of the Philippines, about the middle of the sixteenth century, was at a time when the Church of Rome was earnestly and vigorously spreading its influence throughout the western world. No expedition for discovery or conquest was complete in those days without its quota of priests. They were educated, specially trained, zealous, courageous, and devoted men. They labored everywhere for both the material and spiritual welfare of the native people and accomplished much good. Their methods were the same with all classes of the subject people. A common system

was applied to all non-Christians. All efforts at obtaining material welfare were directed with a religious end in view. No consideration was given the existing religious viewpoint, or the natural and acquired inclinations and ideals of the natives. Under this inflexible system there could be no substantial progress, except upon the condition of embracing the tenets and practices of the Roman Catholic faith. To this procedure both the Mohammedans and the Pagans objected. The latter gave way in the coastal villages to the many inducements offered by the church, and were not averse to accepting the pleasures of fiestas, and the display and adoration of bedizzened images, representing saints, and the members of the Holy Family. Even these novel and attractive scenes were futile in many instances against paganism. We may say, approximately, that the spread of Roman Catholicism was from north to south in the Philippine Islands, and that of Mohammedanism from south to north. Both Hinduism and Mohammedanism entered the islands from the south and west, via the Straits Settlements, Sumatra, Java and Borneo; the latter succeeding the former. Roman Catholicism entered the islands from the east, under the protection of the Spanish kings, appearing first in the central islands of the Visayan group at Cebu, under the conquistador Legaspi in 1565, and afterwards in the north at Manila, which was made the capital of the Philippines in 1570. The historical records (Tarsila) of the Moros show that Mohammedanism entered the Philippines in about the year 1380, through the agency of Arabian teachers. The most noted of these teachers at that time was Makdum, a celebrated Arabian judge and scholar, who began his work of spreading the tenets of Islam in the Sulu Archipelago, the southernmost group of the Philippines. In 1475 an East Indian Mohammedan teacher, the Sharif Kabungsuwan from Johore carried doctrines of the Koran into the Mindanao Archipelago, the next group of islands north of Sulu. The invasion of Hinduism preceded by an unknown period that of Mohammedanism and left its impress upon the native dialects.

The advent of Mohammedanism swept away in large

part the evidences of Hinduism and brought into the southern Philippines an ever-increasing number of Arabian teachers and traders who, while proselytizing in behalf of Islam, also intermarried with the Pagan natives, and with the remnants of the Hindus, and made slaves of others. Thus the original stock disappeared or took refuge in the mountains and became the progenitors of the present Hill Tribes. The invasion of Mohammedanism advanced inland from the island coasts of the southern Philippines and, by the time of the appearance of Spanish colonization, had enveloped the archipelagoes of Sulu, Palawan and Mindanao, embracing 581 islands, large and small, all of which were inhabited permanently or temporarily, as is the case to-day. There were also isolated settlements of Mohammedans as far north as Manila; Legaspi in 1569 drove out of that place a Moro chieftain and his followers. It is a generally accepted belief that the arrival of the Spaniards with representatives of the various Catholic orders placed a powerful and effective check against the further spread of Mohammedanism in the Philippines. While this restriction applied to the middle (Visayan) and northern (Luzon) groups of islands, it made little or no impression on the southern groups, which remained decidedly Islamic. The largest Catholic center in the Moro country has always been at Zamboanga with smaller parishes at Cotabatu and Jolo. The first-named place was made the capital of the Moro Province by the Americans in 1903, it having been the headquarters of the military department since 1899.

Many more Catholic parishes were established in the Pagan sections of the province than in the Mohammedan sections, and their distribution was of course governed by favorable opportunities. No Moro converts were ever made in these parishes. The membership was confined to Filipinos and a few Pagans. Zamboanga was a Spanish penal colony for many years and the penitentiary and farm were located at San Ramon, on the Zamboanga Mesa, about fifteen miles west of the village. It was originally a Moro settlement as its name implies, being a landing place for Morointas, where, when anchored, it was nec-

essary to hold them in secure position by the use of a long and stiff pole, called a zambuang. The Spaniards changed the name to Zamboanga, sacrificing a Malay guttural for Spanish euphony. The dominating situation of the Moros and their strong independence wherever located were fully recognized by the Philippine Commission, under Civil Governor Taft, in the framing of the organic law of the Moro Province, Act No. 787, June 1, 1903, establishing a special form of government for the Moros and other non-Christians. In the long formative period between 1300 and 1800 (500 years) when native peoples in the vast chain of the Pacific Islands (Oceania) were subject to many changes, through physical and spiritual influences, these people now collectively called Moros, were developed. Munro says of prehistoric Japan, that the Japanese people are a mixture of several distinct stocks, Negrito, Mongolian, Palasiatic and Caucasian. These are northern types, embracing also the people of Formosa, Luzon and the Visayas. Whereas the Moros are the outcome of the mixture of the southern types: Hamito-Semitic and Oceanic-Malayan, embracing Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Arabia and India.

When Spain found, after 250 years of conflict with the Moros, that military force, applied with much bitterness and many reprisals, could not change their religion and customs, she modified her policy at the instance of the Church of Rome and began, about 1850, the scheme of amalgamation which involved the colonization of the Moro country by natives from the Visayas. Only those natives who had embraced the Roman Catholic faith or thought they had, according to the judgment of the church, were selected for the change of residence, the giving up of their long established home, and the parting from their many relatives. It was a distinct social and industrial loss for which there was no adequate compensation. The government and the church alone were to be benefited. The project was conceived and carried out solely in the interests of the church and the state. These people were in no way interested in leaving their homes and kindred, and were therefore bitterly opposed to the scheme, but the government forced the

situation at the behest of the church, and required the people to settle in small colonies at first, along the northern shores of the great island of Mindanao. Gradually these settlements were carried on around the edges of the island and also extended to the large islands of Basilan and Jolo. The Moros were quick to fathom the purposes of the Spanish government in forcing upon them the presence of Christianized natives from the north, and they retaliated by frequent and savage raids upon the settlements. These raids were going on at the time of the American occupation of Manila in 1898-1899, and especially during the interim, in the Moro country, between the time of the abandonment of that country (1899-1900) by Spain, and its taking over by American troops.

In order to protect these transplanted people from the Visayas, Spain established a chain of military posts in the archipelagoes of Mindanao, Basilan and Sulu. Some rather elaborate fortifications were constructed at large expense, military roads built, and small gunboats placed on certain rivers and lakes. If the Moros would not accept Roman Catholicism by the bayonet, rifle and the missionary, they were to be forced to live and intermarry with the hated Christianized natives from the north, the very natives which the Spaniards had formerly employed, in large numbers, to construct and man the large war vintas and praus, which carried Spanish troops against the forts and villages of the Moros. Spain also attempted to transplant a Moro colony from Patian Island in the Sulu group to the tobacco country of northern Luzon. This scheme was undertaken about 1860, having in view the breaking up of a band of pirates on Patian which had become very troublesome, and also for the purpose of developing the tobacco lands above mentioned. The experiment in a measure was successful from a commercial standpoint but the Moros never changed their religion, nor would they intermarry with the Filipinos. The Moros were continually kept under strong guard and surveillance. The remnants of these Moros were returned to their native islands by the Americans in 1899 and 1900. These methods



of proselytizing went on with considerable vigor, from the time of the introduction of steam-propelled gunboats into the Philippines in 1848 until American occupation in 1898. After an experience of several centuries with the white Christians, who insisted, from the beginning that, in order to gain redemption and be prosperous the Moro must give up the established faith of his forefathers, change his name, habits, clothing, domestic relations, associate on equal terms with the despised northern people, adopt the Christian marriage system, and take as his wife the hated Christian slave woman from the north, there is small wonder that the Moro remained a savage fighter, cultivated piracy and became in many instances, degraded and poverty stricken.

At the time of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines the Moros had been under the domination of Mohammedan teachers for two hundred years and their Panditas, Imams and Sheikhs had conducted schools for the instruction of the children in a working knowledge of the Koran, and in reading and writing the Arabic language. The progress was naturally slow but nevertheless it was systematic and productive of a commendable degree of civilization. It was putting aside every form of idolatry and substituting therefore an acknowledgment of a living and responsive God; a substitution of faith for superstition, of good works for selfishness and crime, of freedom for license, and of toleration for bigotry. The early Mohammedan teachers brought with them a written language and methods of industry, the employment of which they imposed upon the natives with a view to their betterment. Following the precepts and mandatory provisions of the Koran, the people were taught a systematic cultivation of the soil, as the proper means of obtaining an honest living; to respect the property and family rights of others; to instruct their children in a knowledge of the Koran, and how to read and write its characters; to respect all forms of life and to surround the women and children with many safeguards against vice and physical dangers. Under such tutelage the natives gradually forsook pagan ways and habits, and became Mohammedanized.

The transition was progressive and in accordance with the requirements of an established system that always involved instruction from the written words of the Prophet. The teachers could always appeal to this written word which, although not fully understood, yet exercised a controlling influence upon the primitive minds of the people, and persuaded them to follow the leadership of men who possessed the great power of reading directly from the Koran, and of interpreting its illuminated characters and text. These teachers were also capable of giving expert instruction in writing the Arabic and in illuminating its characters.

Naturally these capable teachers possessed much power among the people who greatly respected and even feared their abilities. The native chiefs sought these teachers for the instruction of their children and also as advisers to aid in the control and development of their people. The power to read and write has always conferred much distinction and influence upon its possessors among the proselytes to Islam in the Southern Philippines. These instructors were also employed to record the family histories of the leading chiefs, and to inscribe their decisions on all questions affecting tribal administration and policy. At first this record was made upon bark and leaves and also upon the cured skins of animals. Later they were entered upon thin pieces of wood, and finally upon paper, when the latter could be obtained. When the Americans occupied the Moro country evidences of these writings (tarsila) were occasionally brought to light. In some instances the sheets were bound together in the form of a book, by the use of split bejuco and covered with deer skin. A man-servant is always assigned to the special duty of guarding these precious documents, and of carrying them to and from the place of meeting, especially meetings with government officials and neighboring chiefs. Had these records been duly appreciated by the early Spanish officials and priests, and the promising culture of these people encouraged and directed aright, the Moros would have been among the most advanced in civilization of any of the tribes of the Philippines, at the time of the advent of American control.

But unfortunately, we were given to understand by the Christians generally that the Moros were savages and we treated them accordingly. We were told that a good Moro was a dead one and that they could not be trusted with the smallest responsibility; that they were incorrigible pirates, and the Catholic priests claimed that they were past redemption as their missionaries had abandoned all further attempts at proselyting among them. As Americans became better acquainted with these non-Christians they gradually discovered worthy qualities in them and believed, that as a people, they had been misjudged and mismanaged by the Spaniards. We found the Spanish garrisons in the Moro country very much on the defensive, penned in and surrounded by hordes of half naked men and boys, armed with spears, knives and antiquated fire-arms. It was found that the Moros could repair these firearms, reload shells, refit cartridges and make their own gunpowder. They were sniping, in the most cruel manner, the Spanish officers and men at every opportunity. The fiendish juramentado and the crazy amok were shedding Spanish and Filipino blood with startling frequency and brutality. The Spanish garrisons were imploring the Americans to rescue them from their dangerous surroundings, made doubly severe by the attacks of Filipino insurrectos and Moro pirates. The Spaniards were reaping the whirlwind of the revengeful sufferers from mal-administration. Finally General Otis, the American commander, was able to give heed to their urgent appeals and the Spanish garrisons at Zamboanga and Jolo were released from their precarious positions, the former on May 19 and the latter on May 24, 1899. Other garrisons were relieved by American troops at Cotabatu, Parang, Isabela, Malabang, Siassi, Davao and Illigan.

As the early Spanish priests in Mexico, so their prototypes in the Philippines, resorted to the destruction of the native records and manuscripts, usually by burning. "They were looked on as magic scrolls and were regarded in the same light with idols and temples, as symbols of a pestilent superstition that must be extirpated." Writ-

ing of such ruthless and bigoted work in Mexico Prescott says: "Of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Yucatan and Mexico, never did fanaticism achieve two more signal triumphs than by the annihilation of so many curious monuments of human ingenuity and learning." The superior intelligence of the early Spanish padres in the Philippines was so mixed with bigotry and intolerance that they utterly failed to appreciate the historical value of the manuscripts, picture writing and carvings of the Moros, and of the literature of their Arabian teachers. Everything of this nature was ruthlessly sacrificed or ignored as subversive of the teachings of the Roman Catholic church and therefore greatly injurious to the spiritual welfare of the native people.

The origin of these native people, their family records, their tribal organizations, their dialects, their ideals, their folk-lore, their customary laws, their habits, their mechanical and industrial capabilities, their religious thought, aspirations and observances, were all cast aside, as of little value beside the all-important question of conversion to Christianity, according to the Roman Catholic ritual, and the doctrines of that church. In this connection and in behalf of an unprejudiced judgment the personal equation of the Spanish priests should be carefully considered. All of these gentlemen were not equally ruthless and intolerant in their views and actions. Nor should the criticism wholly rest upon the church for the members of the hierarchy differed in their interpretation of its doctrines. Some priests were much more liberal and patient than others, and were disposed to assist in the development of natural talent, even though the possessor differed from them in faith and habits. Between the violent resistance of the Moros and the bigoted determination of the Spaniards to conquer and proselytize them, the former were ground down in crime and confirmed in ignorance. No other result could have followed such unrelenting and brutal conflict between unequal foes. All that the Moros held sacred was blasphemed and destroyed. Yet these people could not be

conquered and Catholicized by three hundred years of warfare and neglect.

Instead of being converted to Christianity they were driven into ignorance and maintained in vice. This was the price of their steadfast devotion to the tenets of Islam, but such devotion to principle and faith was not recognized by the conquerors as possessing any virtue whatever, nor was it ever turned to good account by them in the government of the natives. On the contrary such manifestation of devoutness and loyalty was considered an evidence of degeneracy and a sign of savagery and decay. There were qualities and virtues exhibited by the Moros in this tremendous contest with Spain that ought to have been detected, appreciated and developed as of great potential strength in erecting successful self-government. But bigotry and intolerance prevailed in behalf of an unreasoning pretension to religious superiority, and of a demand for its acceptance in spite of all convictions to the contrary. As was to be expected Spain completely failed to convince or convert the Moros, or to control them with any measure of success. The experiment was worse than mere failure in efforts and methods, because the subject people were driven backwards and abandoned to vice and ignorance.

It has been truly said that "it needs a Celt to understand a Celt, and to sympathise with his prejudices, with his tastes and with all of the peculiarities of his warm-hearted, impulsive and somewhat illogical character." Whenever the representative of the King has had a strain of warm Celtic blood in his veins public affairs have improved in Ireland. Maximo M. Kalaw in his recent book, *The Case for the Filipinos*, has the following to say on the subject of obtaining dependable knowledge of a people:—"Human sympathy, regard for the feelings of others, respect for their customs and idiosyncrasies, appreciation for their ideals and aspirations. These alone could open to the stranger a people's life, help him to hear their heart throbbing, discover their innermost thoughts, learn their mental processes, pierce into their soul. Through these alone could he really know a people." Indeed these are weighty truths but

is the author capable of applying them disinterestedly in dealing with the varied people of his native country? The leaders of his own kind have never succeeded in governing the Moros, mainly because of the religious intolerance of the Filipino. The Moros and Pagans have resisted the dictation of the Filipino in both temporal and spiritual matters because of the intolerance of the latter, and of his coöperation with the Spaniards in seeking the destruction of their faiths and aspirations. The above quotations are from the pen of a young Filipino who has been educated and developed under American influences, and who has resided for several years in Washington. The practical employment of his ideas is quite another question. In that phase of the matter he has had no experience whatever. The practical test determines success or failure.

In spite of the fervor and truth of his carefully expressed thoughts, Mr. Kalaw is the exponent of the doctrine of ill-considered independence conceived and cultivated by the Filipino leaders who have always denied the justice of their appeal when applied to the religious freedom and ideals of the Moros. Not only have the Spaniards and the Filipinos been seriously mistaken in their dealings with the Moros, but this criticism also applies, yet in less degree, to the Americans. We accepted the Spanish and Filipino interpretation of the character of these non-Christian people and their estimate of the situation.

Following such conclusions, without proper investigation, we inherited and perpetuated much internal disorder, at various times and places, and failed of complete mutual understanding with the Moros. They hungered after sympathy and real appreciation of their idiosyncrasies, aspirations, and ideals. But being influenced by the estimation and beliefs of the Spaniards and the Filipinos, and having no experience in dealing with oriental people, we undervalued the real worth and urgent needs of these non-Christians, and judged them by exterior signs and surroundings. We did not know them, could not appreciate their struggles, had no reliable data to work on, for reasons

already explained, and therefore we necessarily resorted to experiment, and that too on premises that were not safe.

Is it any wonder then, when our laws were made and put in operation among these people, that the non-Christians protested that the Americans were going too fast for them; that although we professed a separation of the church and state, and the enjoyment of perfect freedom in religious matters, yet we did not respect their faith, nor manifest confidence in the sincerity of their devotions. Moreover, we have now gone still further and raised the cry of the "Cross against the Crescent" and denied the Moros the solace and instruction of a modern and progressive teacher of their faith, and this on the ground that the people concerned are not in need of enlightenment and guidance by the best exponents of their religious faith. Such a view of the matter is contrary to the spirit of our laws on the subject of religious freedom. When freedom crosses the line into the domain of license and crime the civil law is entirely adequate to deal with all violations of its provisions in behalf of the safety of all of the people.

Real leadership demands the peculiar capacity of justly and sympathetically interpreting the ideals, feelings and aspirations of a people, and granting them, under proper restrictions, freedom of action, in accordance with the provisions of acknowledged law. When the Moros petitioned their great Caliph at Constantinople in 1912 they plainly stated in their memorial how earnestly they were working to maintain the true Islamic faith, and also at the same time to observe all of the requirements of the civil law, in becoming and maintaining themselves as good American citizens. Are people with such thoughts and ideals "unspeakable savages" and must they be denied the fulfillment of their best aspirations? Is such a denial an exhibition of Christian spirit, of justifiable toleration and a full compliance with the letter and the spirit of our laws?

## BIBLE SOCIETIES AND MISSIONS: THEIR JOINT CONTRIBUTION TO RACE DEVELOPMENT

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The American Bible Society observed in May, 1916, the hundredth anniversary of its foundation. The British and Foreign Bible Society celebrated its centennial in 1904. Several of the greater foreign missionary societies, notably the American Board, had marked similar anniversaries in the intervening years. Both Bible societies named have published elaborate histories of their transactions during the hundred years of their existence. The British and Foreign Bible Society has published also a monumental catalogue in four volumes of its collection of Bibles, a collection which from many points of view is without rival in the world. The society has endeavored to include in this library, besides many volumes of great interest in connection with the history of the printing of the Bible in European languages especially in English, an example of every Bible or portion of the Bible printed in any language whatsoever in connection with the missionary work in Asia, Africa and the islands within the last one hundred and twenty years.

These facts have called renewed attention to the connection of Bible society and missionary work. They suggest reflection upon the relation of these two great movements, the one to the other. They give occasion for an endeavor in this brief article to call to mind some aspects at least of the contribution which these two agencies conjointly have made to the development of races and the history of culture. This contribution has been of primary significance indeed for Europe and America. That however to which it is desired particularly to draw attention is the value of this



contribution in the development of the races of Asia and Africa and the Islands during the nineteenth century, the century which has witnessed the greatest expansion of Christendom and the widest spread of the influence of European civilization.

The significance of the relation of the Bible societies to missions can hardly be exaggerated. On the one hand, the British and Foreign Bible Society, established in 1804, following as it did in the wake of the London Missionary Society and of the British Baptist Missionary Society, may be said almost to have had its origin in the phrase of a Mr. Hughes, who when he listened to the claim of needy Wales for copies of the Bible exclaimed, "And if for Wales, why not for the whole world?" At all events, the Society received its name from this utterance. Once this Society and others like it were launched upon their world-wide endeavor the missions, most of them the creation of the same new enthusiasm, were the natural organizations through which the desired distribution of Bibles could take place. They were as well the sources whence new suggestions as to needed translations arose, they were the areas from which alone in most cases translators would be forthcoming. On the other hand, once the missions had faced their task they must have realized that the books which the Bible societies furnished could multiply the endeavors of their evangelists and preachers a thousandfold. The books could go where the evangelist had not yet been admitted, they could remain when he had departed, they could speak when his voice had been silenced. They could be to the nascent Christian communities all over the world the basis of culture, the means of the uplifting and fortifying and educating of the spirit of nations, just as the Bible had been in all the nations of the Protestant world since the era of the Reformation. It is not too much to say as we look back upon the history that either of these movements is almost unthinkable without the other.

Establishing thus an intimate relation in the service which throughout the century of their existence these two agencies have rendered, we shall not be surprised to find

that they had also a very close relation in their origin. The movement of the spirit of several Christian peoples which resulted in the formation of Bible societies and in the inauguration of the Protestant missionary propaganda had its common source in the pietist and evangelical fervor which, throughout the eighteenth century and far down into the nineteenth, proved a benediction, not alone to the continent of Europe and to Great Britain, but in scarcely less degree to our own country. Among the four *pia desideria*, the four first principles laid down by Spener at the very beginning of the Pietist movement, one was that of recurrence to the Scriptures. The Bible must be the very text-book of religion in the hands and hearts of all believers. Out of these German pietist circles came the missionaries who, early in the eighteenth century in Danish and Dutch and British colonies, first among Protestants, took up the task of foreign missions. This missionary work Roman Catholics had prosecuted ever since the Counter-Reformation and the origin of the Society of Jesus. The Protestants had left it until this moment almost untouched. It was upon the Bible that the Moravian community established its whole civil and economic and social life. It was the Moravian Brotherhood which sent out its missionaries, as Zinzendorf proudly said, to those places whither no one else could be found to go. It was this *Unitas Fratrum* which became in proportion to its numbers and its wealth the greatest missionary church since the Apostolic Age.

John Wesley had come into contact with the Moravians during his visit to Georgia. In London the Moravians had been used as the instruments under God of an experience of conversion on Wesley's part which was so vivid and wonderful that this man, with all of his saintly youth, the beautiful experiences in the Epworth parsonage and in Lincoln College in Oxford behind him, was yet fain at times to say that he had never been a Christian before. He visited the Moravians at Herrnhut. The passion for souls which sent them into every wilderness and solitary place in the foreign missionary field set him upon that wonderful home

mission, as we should now call it, to the neglected poor in the towns and again in the rural districts of England and Wales and even Ireland which the Methodist revival was destined to become. Whitfield, direct from his fellowship with the Wesleys, passed to his evangelistic tour in this country where he joined hands with Jonathan Edwards in the Great Awakening in New England and with Tennent and others in the Middle States. Not merely was that awakening decisive for the the future history of New England and New York and New Jersey, it afforded the religious background for many of the men who a generation later were influential in opening up the so-called Northwest Territory, with all of the epoch-making consequences which that movement had for the Middle West of our country. In America, this evangelistic, revivalistic, Bible-loving impulse furnished the foil alike to the dreary dogmatism which characterized the decline of the "Standing Order" with its fierce confessionalism, and as well the foil to the spread of rationalism, which came with the period of the great and natural influence of France in our national life consequent upon the aid which France had given to us in the Revolutionary War.

This evangelicalism furnished the foil to scholastic dogmatism and again to rationalism, precisely as the pietism of Kant and Schleiermacher had made them prophets of the new era in Germany. In the persons of Kant and Schleiermacher much that was best in both the movements of pietism and rationalism were combined and survived as, in the old days of the bitter strife, no one would have believed that they could be combined. There is hardly anything in literature more touching than the testimony of Kant in his old age to the Bible-loving home in which he had been brought up. As for Schleiermacher, the father of modern theology, there was no association in his whole life which left a greater impression upon him than did that with the schools of the Moravians at Niesky and Barby. This observation is true despite the fact that when he left Barby it was in bitterest revolt against pietism and in insatiable thirst for the larger opportunities which he felt

sure that the University of Halle would afford him. It was thus after all a pietist at heart, who shared their love of the Bible and their missionary enthusiasms, who became one of the founders of the University of Berlin. And what shall we say of a man like Oberlin, in his apostolic zeal for the neglected both of French and German tongues in his beloved Alsace? It was the British and Foreign Bible Society which came to his rescue and made possible a work so characteristic and impressive that when presently the inhabitants of a district in our own Western Reserve, to whom Charles Finney was by and by prophet and almost priest and king, sought a name for their village, the name of Oberlin seemed to them to say the most of all that they wished to have said. It is not an accident that at this very day the American Board draws more of the candidates for its missionary service from Oberlin than from any other college in the land, or that Oberlin is preparing to duplicate itself in a great Christian college in the province of Shansi in China.

Besides this connection between the evangelical revival and the missionary movement, we have to remember that both the Bible societies and the major missionary boards first saw the light in the midst of a period of great humane and moral and reforming struggles. In these struggles many of the very men most influential in the Bible and missionary movements were also concerned. There was, for example, that great revulsion of sentiment in England concerning the course of the administration of the East India Company. The movement was voiced by Burke. Its first spectacular episode was the impeachment of Warren Hastings. It never rested until it had amended and at last abolished the charter of the Company. By degrees it had won the consent of the Company to Bible work and missions, to which at first the directors had been violently hostile. It had set up presses and established education. It had abolished cruel rites in India. It had begun to give Indians participation in their own government. It had inaugurated medical work and sanitation, irrigation and famine relief. It had sent out to India in the generation

before the Mutiny a line of civil and military servants as high-minded and devoted as the government of any subject people ever saw. It had prepared the way for that solidarity of India with Britain which is one of the most notable features of the present war. This was the period also when Clarkson and Wilberforce were using every effort to bring about the abolition of the slave trade and presently of slavery within the British dominions. It was an era of reforms. It was the era of a great wave of democratic feeling which in its zeal for liberty and equality and fraternity brought on presently the French Revolution. It was the era which, so soon as the Napoleonic wars were over, set before itself, especially in Great Britain, certain social and economic reforms with which we are busied still. It was the era of a veritable contagion of ethical and humanitarian endeavors. No one can read the poetry of the period from Blake and Wordsworth through Shelley and Keats and Byron to Coleridge or again the prose even only of Carlyle, to mention no other, without being made to realize how high was the idealism which these great efforts set before themselves.

It was a misfortune that these two movements—the humanitarian and evangelistic—which in the beginning were so closely related the one to the other and which, in later years in all the movements of social religion, both in the home lands and in the mission fields, have come to supplement one another in such extraordinary way, were at the first hostile to one another. They long misunderstood one another completely. The misunderstanding was not unnatural. The official religion of most of these lands did array itself on the wrong side of many moral questions, for example, of the slavery question. Liberals were alienated from the evangelicals by the dogmatism of the latter and their other-worldliness. They were suspicious of their emotionalism and their bibliolity. The evangelicals, on the other hand, were afraid of rationalism, of what they called mere moralism and a religion of this world. So it has come to pass that there are liberal churches in our own country which have as good as no missionary history at all,

because they were not able at the beginning to understand the relation of the inner life of the individual soul to those social and economic achievements of which they dreamed. Conversely, there are churches now in our midst, churches even of the evangelical inheritance which, in their zeal for what they call a religion of this world, seem likely to forget that out of the heart are the issues of life. They run risk of losing all their spirituality in their so-called passion for the practical. Yet, despite these long misunderstandings, it cannot be denied that there exists this vital relation between the evangelistic impulse of which we more particularly speak and the great humane enthusiasms which possessed Europe and America at the end of the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth. Not only so, but the Bible and missionary work, which at the first set out only to save souls, has exercised the most profound and salutary influence upon civilization as a whole, both in our own lands and in all other lands. It has done wonders in education, in reform and the general uplifting of man's life in this world, all the while that its adherents have professed, or rather, exactly because they have professed, that it is only by the life of the soul in and for the eternal that in the last analysis worthy civilization is achieved or maintained.

There is still another movement from which the Bible societies and the missionary propaganda received both direct and indirect advantage. To it in turn they made immeasurable contribution. Those last years of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth marked the period when Britain was becoming on the vast scale with which we are familiar "the mother of nations." The empires of conquest and trade which, in the period after the Renaissance had been connected with the names of Portugal and Spain both in the eastern and western hemispheres, had largely faded away. The empires of the Dutch and of the Danes had shrunk to insignificant holdings. The French had lost both Canada and India. They were presently to surrender Louisiana. Napoleon had dreamed of an eastern empire all the while that he was bringing Europe under his

sway. That France would recoup herself late in the nineteenth century in the subdivision of Africa could not be foreseen. The Russian Empire, though in the main it had its present boundaries, was then no great factor in civilization. England however had gained Australia and New Zealand and the South Sea Islands by discovery, India and Canada by conquest and was fastening a firm hold on China and the Malay Peninsula by her trade. She had lost indeed the thirteen seaboard colonies of North America by the war of the Revolution. She had lost them however to her own sons. The United States, despite its independence, was then far more purely a New England in all inner relations of its life than it now is. It is a new Europe, very significantly Anglo Saxon, even now. England had possessions in the West Indies, had touched South America and was building up South Africa.

It was the sense of obligation to the islanders in the South Seas which first quickened Carey, although in the end he spent his life in India. It was the sense of responsibility to the subject races which moved Henry Martyn and Claudius Buchanan and Reginald Heber in one way, as presently it moved Lord William Bentinck and Lord John Lawrence and Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havlock in another. Chinese Gordon's Bible is preserved with a reverence which no one has thought of paying to his sword, true soldier as he was. These things all have an intimate relation. The original antagonism between the commercial empire and the missionaries and the Bible agents yielded just as the opposition between the religious propaganda and the humanitarian and reforming schemes had done. The day came when the Empire recognized as among the most illustrious of its builders the Scottish Free-Church educational enthusiast Alexander Duff. The administrators of the world-wide empire saw that they could not solve one of a thousand of all their deeper problems save by an appeal to the inner life, to the souls of men. Just so, on the other hand, the most zealous advocates of the purely spiritual gospel, with its effort to make men citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven, had learned that both converts and mission-

aries most evidence their citizenship of Heaven by making their practical contribution to the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth. The transformation of the aims and ends of the British Empire in India, the change in the animus of Europe in dealing with Asiatics and Africans, the desire really to confer civilization, the perception that civilization is not merely that of the outward life, the change of mind of eastern nations toward western civilization in the course of the nineteenth century, is a most wonderful thing. It is hardly less wonderful to behold how the churches and missions which would at first have nothing to do with humanitarian reforming, economic or social endeavors, have become the centers of every humane endeavor and the conscientious furtherers of every form of present and temporal human good.

There is a curious and suggestive connection in the history of learning in Europe between printing and Bibles. This connection is moreover in surprising fashion evident again in the spread, during the nineteenth century, of western civilization in the East, whether at the hands of imperial and commercial or again of evangelizing and spiritual agencies. The first book which came in great numbers from the presses set up in Germany and England, in Holland and Switzerland, in Italy and France, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was the Bible. Until after the Civil War in England and the Thirty Years War in Germany it may be doubted if the dissemination of all other kinds of literature combined equalled in volume the output from the presses of Bibles and of books pertaining directly to the Bible and the religious life. This is true in spite of the fact that in England after 1611 the publication of the Bible was a government monopoly. Similarly, within the nations both of the near and of the far East, when late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries, western printing-presses began to be set up by representatives of European colonial governments or trading companies or, on the other hand, by Christian missionaries and educational enthusiasts, in many cases the Bible was the first book issued. In all these lands it was the western book



most widely circulated. This was true for a time even of the most highly civilized of eastern lands. Furthermore, in scores and in hundreds of the minor tribes and peoples, as in Africa, in North America and the Islands, the languages were first reduced to writing in order that Bibles might be printed in them. In some the Bible has remained to this day the only book which ever was printed. The only education of these peoples, in so far as they have had any education, has grown up about this which was their only, or by far their most significant book. Their civil and social life was based upon this book. In some cases again among North American or African tribes or among the Islanders of the South Seas where the languages have died, this one printed book, the Bible, remains forever the only witness to philologists and ethnographers what those languages were like and what the ethnic affiliations of those lost peoples may have been. To take an example near home, there is only the one book in existence from which we have any knowledge whatsoever what the language of Eliot's Indians, in his missionary settlements at Natick and Nonantum, was like. That book is John Eliot's Bible, the publication of which was subsidized by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, a society founded by the Long Parliament in 1649. A copy of this book is one of the great treasures of the library of Wellesley College.

For many reasons the discovery of printing brought no such immediate revolution in the life of Europe as we might at first thought have expected to find. The type of education remained in remarkable degree despite printing the old aristocratic type, the education for leadership. Printing, through its share in the Renaissance and the Reformation, had done much to remove the ecclesiastical stamp of culture. It was however very far from having made that culture democratic in the sense which we now understand. At the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, books were still for the relatively few. Magazines and newspapers were about as different from those of our day as anything we can well imagine. It was the nineteenth century in

which the cheapness of the manufacture of paper, the existence of post and telegraph for the gathering of news, the increase of the means of transportation for the printed product, the organization of the vast publishing business, the enormous proportionate increase of the number of those persons who can read, which have brought about that popularization of certain elements at least of the intellectual life which we ordinarily associate with the influence of the press. Now the nineteenth century is the period in which the East and Africa and the Islands, touched by the life of Europe and America, have had the press. They had no share at all in these matters during the period of which I have spoken when our advance was slow. They have kept pace with us in the rapid progress of the nineteenth century. Europeans and the Europe which was transplanted to America took four hundred and fifty years to travel from Guttenberg's Bible to the yellowest of the yellow Sunday morning papers. India has traversed the same distance in a century, Japan in half a century. China had the Bible nearly a century ago and has not reached the yellowest journal yet. The first presses in the Ottoman Empire were missionary presses. The first printed books were Bibles. The vast influx of books printed in the West for use in Turkey was for a long time made up of Bibles and religious books. Educational books followed the establishment of the missionary colleges. The censorship has at times largely stopped these. It has until the present day almost absolutely stopped everything else. In India, the first presses established by the company's government worked harmoniously, especially under Lord Mornington, with that remarkable publishing institution at Serampore where Carey unfolded all his genius as linguist and translator and his high qualities even as a business man. It is only in more recent years that one can speak of popular literature or of the "revolver press" in India.

In China, Morrison and Milne, so long shut up from the work of evangelism upon which they had set their hearts, laid broad and deep foundations of western learning in the Chinese languages. They produced not merely Bible

translations but grammars and dictionaries. They won their first long-awaited-for converts among the literary men who had aided them in their Bible translation work. In Turkey, the early missionaries like Pliny Fiske had sought, first the conversion of the Jews, then the awakening of the ancient Christian churches and for a long time almost despaired of converting one man from among Mohammedans. They turned to Bible translation and literary work, to the founding of schools and colleges, to medical work. They felt that they might thus open doors otherwise obstinately closed. It is not certain that they did not thus influence the whole civilization of the Ottoman Empire more profoundly than in so short a time, at all events, they could otherwise have done. No one can pass under the arch of the Bible House in Constantinople without being thrilled with the sense of all the influences which have gone out over the whole of the near East from within those walls. Here American missionaries were chiefly engaged, above all the great trio of translators, Schauffler and Riggs and Van Dyke. Here it was the American Bible Society which supported the work and distributed through its colporteurs and agents all the manifold products of the press. Here they were Americans, Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn and Daniel Bliss and Mary Patrick, who have founded the great institutions of learning, now independent corporations but then under the American Board of Missions, later, in part also under the Presbyterian Board. Many of the colleges and normal schools and scores of secondary schools in Asia Minor are still under the American Board, all basing their instruction in the last analysis upon the Christian book of life. In overwhelming measure Turkey is an American missionary and Bible Society field. It is an American educational field. This is one reason why the fate of the Armenian population and the outlook of the Ottoman Empire as a whole in the present crisis fairly holds us breathless until we can see a little farther into the future than we yet can do. The only thing which alike the Bible Society and the mission board know, the only thing of which the great universities on the Bosphorus and at the foot of

Lebanon, as a result of a century of history, are sure, is that there has never been a time of anguish like this present one, a time of suffering for our peoples and of fear of the destruction of our work, which has not resulted in yet greater enlargement and in more real and spiritual success in our work.

Allusion was made at the beginning of this article to that extraordinary catalogue of Bibles in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is a book of four large volumes and of 1750 pages. It contains more than nine thousand entries of Bibles or parts of Bibles in more than six hundred distinct languages or dialects which are now spoken, besides editions in some eighty languages or dialects now obsolete. In overwhelming proportion these versions have been published by one or another of the three great Bible societies—the British, the American and the Scottish, by a few of the great missionary societies, or else they have been made possible through subvention from one or another of these societies to missionary presses in all lands. In overwhelming proportion the versions mentioned in the British catalogue have been published during the nineteenth century or in the first decade of the twentieth. It may be doubted whether the Bible existed in thirty different languages or dialects in the year 1804, in which the British Society received its charter. In overwhelming proportion these translations made during the nineteenth century are the work of missionaries and their native assistants in the fields in which the missionaries worked and for the sake of the peoples on behalf of whom they were giving their lives.

Professor Hope Moulton expressed not long since the opinion that there is scarcely a published record of the transactions of any learned society in the world which represents a greater achievement than that which is described in the catalogue of these more than six hundred separate versions of the whole or of parts of the Bible into as many different living languages and dialects. In some cases, as in those of the versions into the Mandarin or into Arabic, or for the benefit of the Brahmans in India or the Buddhists

in Japan, the work has been done by individuals or, as more commonly, by commissions, groups of men equal in learning to any scholars of their day. The translators aimed by their endeavor to put the sacred books of the Christian faith into circulation in the midst of a world of the learned and the critical, not to say a world prepossessed in the favor of other religions. It aimed to set the Scriptures of the Christian faith in worthy fashion side by side with sacred books of the East in the very homes of those sacred books and the seats of their immeasurable influence. The devotees of other faiths, proud of their own immemorial traditions of literary culture, must receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, more particularly the latter, in a form in which their superficial prejudices, at all events, would be disarmed and in which no slightest accessory of grace of style and of external perfectness were to be neglected, if the inward truth for which the souls of the translators were concerned was to have free course. There are numbers of these translations into the classical literatures of the world, into the languages of the races of ancient cultivation, upon the perpetual revision of which the labor literally of generations of devoted students has been poured out. It could not be permitted that the gospel should be presented in a form wholly inferior to that of the Analects, even in the judgment of the most critical Chinese. It would not do that the Scriptures of the Christians should be unworthy of comparison in form at least with the Buddhist or Zoroastrian scriptures or with the Vedas in their own home lands, or that the revelation of Jesus should be, for lack of literary care, repellant to those to whom the surahs of the Koran are dear. The problem was to present the characteristic ideas of the Jewish and Christian religions in such a manner as to win understanding and even approval on the part of men to whom and to whose ancestors every subtlest shade of moral distinction and every perfect utterance of spiritual insight had been immemorially familiar. No light task, it must be confessed, to be performed by foreigners, even when they could bring the most learned of their converts, and literati not their converts, to their aid.

At the opposite pole from these relatively few translations into the vernaculars of the great oriental civilizations, into the few languages of the world's great religions, are the far more numerous cases in which the tongues of the various peoples whom it was sought to reach had produced almost no literature and contained but few and poor equivalents, or even no equivalents whatsoever, for the words and phrases fundamental to the Christian speech. The translations spoken above had been works of stupendous labor, but that labor was of a far different sort from that of which we now are to speak. Jest has been made as to the difficulty of translating, for example, a psalm touching the praise of God in nature as men knew nature in Palestine, into the language, say, of the Eskimo upon their treeless shores, with their limited fauna and their frozen streams. There was the difficulty of describing sheep and camels and even horses to a South Sea islander, whose only quadrupeds were pigs and rats. What does one do with a chapter like that of the Good Shepherd under such circumstances? These are, however, minor difficulties compared with the rendering of such words as faith or justification, atonement, sanctification, redemption, into the speech of peoples whose very religion contained no such notions or even furnished quite opposite conceptions and called out only contrary emotions. What shall one say of the difficulty of the task of him who, desiring to make the New Testament mean to his group of practically naked and recently cannibal converts what it meant to him in his youth, finds that his first step must be to accustom his ear to analyze the elements of articulation in a dialect which has never had an alphabet. His next step must be to make up his mind about the syntax of a speech which never had a grammar. He must learn the names for things and ideas in a tongue which never had a dictionary. He must be the first to write a speech which no one before him ever dreamed of writing. He must then teach to read this written speech adult children of whose race no man ever yet read a word. He must create a desire for a book and then create a book to meet the desire. That work has been done not only scores but several hun-

dreds of times in the nineteenth century. It has been done almost inevitably by missionaries who were giving their whole lives to the tribes or the islands concerned. No one else would have been competent to the task. Even then it would all have been done in vain had there been no Bible societies to publish these books. It needs no saying that there was no market for them, at all events no market which could call the books into being, at best and most a little market for the books when they had come into being. It has been the boast of the societies never to refuse a work of this sort for a tribe or island of the smallest number or of the lowest level, if only someone offered to do the translating and if the society could be offered any reasonable guarantee that the work would be well done. In spite of all that has been accomplished, it is said that there are still a thousand languages and dialects into which translations could be made. On the other hand, it is certainly true, as for example in Africa, that with the great movements of population which have come with the means of transportation and the call for labor in the great centers, the isolated tribal life of many groups is being broken up, the tribal dialects are being lost. Kaffir and Zulu and English are becoming languages of universal communication, so that many tribal tongues now existent will soon have none to speak them and translations which have been made will have none to read them or at least few who can read these alone. The same thing is true of the South Sea Island population which moreover are fast vanishing away. The same thing is true of North American Indian tribes. When one thinks of the lives of the missionary scholars which have been poured into this task, lives which might just as well have been expended, had those who lived them so preferred, in learned investigations in some university, in literary labor which would have brought fame or made money, he must bow in humble recognition to some who are unknown to philologists or anthropologists and almost unknown even to missionary enthusiasts, who have nevertheless been wholly content if, as a result of the labor of their lives, they could

put the word of God into the hands of men and women and little children of the tribe they loved.

The American Bible Society alone issued in the year 1915 something over six million copies of Bibles, or parts of the Bible, in some of the one hundred and sixty-nine different languages on its list. In the hundred years of its existence it has issued more than one hundred and ten million copies of the Bible or of portions of the Bible. It has spent \$38,000,000. The British and Foreign Bible Society in its first hundred and twelve years, from 1804 to 1916, has four hundred and ninety-seven languages to its credit on its list of versions. It has issued three times as many copies of Bibles or of parts of the Bible as the American Society and has spent two and one-half times the income. It issued in 1915 alone eleven million copies, four and a half of which went to the armies in the field. It is certain that the major societies have put into circulation within the last century more than five hundred million copies of the Scripture, by no means all gratis, yet also practically never at cost. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is in some sense the immediate congener of the American Bible Society, spent in the year 1915 \$1,100,000 in its work. In one hundred years it had spent about \$40,000,000. Yet these figures are far surpassed by those of both the Presbyterian Church North and of the Methodist Church North, although neither of these organizations is yet a century old, the Presbyterian Church having co-operated with the American board until 1837, part of it indeed until 1869. The Church Missionary Society of England, which is the immediate congener of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the year before the war surpassed any of the American societies mentioned, in the cost of its work and in the statistics of its results. The major missionary societies of the Protestant world in the year 1914 spent more than \$35,000,000 on their work.

The writer of this article made a beginning a few years ago of gathering for the library of Harvard University a collection of the versions of the Bible or of parts of the Bible which have been produced in connection with missionary



work. The collection has attained to the proportion of nearly one-half of this department of the famous library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Indeed, this collection has been made possible in large part through the generosity of that society and of others like it. It is thought to be a collection unique among the college or university libraries in America. It has aroused the interest of students not alone of religion but of philology, of anthropology and of education.

It suggests itself how interesting it would be if we could answer questions parallel to those dealt with above, concerning other literatures both sacred and profane. How many translations are there of the Koran, especially how many translations into the relatively primitive languages and for the sake of use in the great Mohammedan propaganda? It is well known that there is a vast Mohammedan missionary movement in Africa with Cairo as its center. It is true that it is a mission almost exclusively to the illiterate. This however is true of the Christian missions in Africa as well. The difference lies rather in the fact that the Mohammedan mission leaves its converts largely illiterate. As one looks at the thousands of youths in the Great Mosque at Cairo who are said to be preparing for this work, he gets the impression that there are few indeed of these students who are learned in anything beyond the traditional interpretation of the Koran. It is only by some latitude that a comparison between this famous school and the Christian preparation of missionaries can be allowed. For these men will be mostly traders and enthusiastic missionaries of Islam in a manner only incidental to their travels and business. Still, as we were saying, it would be a most interesting thing to know how many copies of the Koran are used in this work and in how many languages of Africa translations exist. How many version are there of the Buddhist sacred writings in China or Japan or in both countries together? And again we say, not merely how many translations exist into the languages of the great civilizations and for the delectation of the learned of the world, although, of course, that fact has also an interest of its own, but how many trans-

lations of Buddhist sacred books are there into the languages of primitive peoples and in the interest of Buddhist propaganda? Is there anywhere any such Buddhist propaganda on a great scale? It is well known that there is a great revival of Buddhism in Japan, a most serious effort to adjust that faith to modern education and life in Japan. There is much literature of the Buddhist controversy with Christianity in Japan. Has this had great effect in the dissemination of Buddhist scriptures?

How many versions are there of the great classics of Hinduism into the many vernaculars of the minor tribes of India, to most of which the Christian Scriptures are already finding access? One almost knows beforehand what the answer to this question will be. Caste is a great barrier. The whole point of view about religion in India is different. For that degree and kind of religiousness which is expected of the tribesman not much knowledge of the doctrines and mysteries of Hinduism would be supposed to be necessary. Or, to put it differently, exactly because religion for the Hindu is knowledge and insight, it scarcely exists for the ignorant except in the form of rites and ceremonies. One of the great effects of the contact with Christianity however is going to be everywhere the reviving, renewing, reforming of the indigenous faiths. It can hardly fail that, with the great relative increase in all these lands of the numbers of those who can read, an organized effort for the dissemination of their respective sacred books will have place.

Answers to these questions raised above concerning the circulation of the sacred literatures of the ethnic faiths are extremely difficult to obtain from any sources of information which we now possess. It is striking however to note how difficult it is to obtain similar answers concerning the great secular literatures; for example, even concerning our own English literature. One of the authors of the British and Foreign Bible Society's catalogue made a few attempts in this inquiry, seeking to find out the number of translations in which certain great classics of world-literature exist. The inquiry has never yet been made on a great

scale. Its results would assuredly be most interesting. It appears that the *Iliad* is known to have been published in over twenty of the leading languages of Europe. The Shakespearean Memorial Library at Birmingham gives evidence that the master poet may be read, in whole or in part, in twenty-seven different languages. The British Museum Catalogue enumerates forty different versions of the *Imitation of Christ*. Books of Count Tolstoy are said to have appeared in forty-seven different languages. The Religious Tract Society asserted that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* has appeared in one hundred different translations. In other words, so far as this inquiry goes, the only book which appears in more than one-tenth as many versions as the Bible is itself closest kin to the Bible. It is almost made out of the Bible. Furthermore, the only one of these books mentioned which has made any large invasion of the primitive languages has undoubtedly been largely translated by missionaries for the edification of the same clientele for which they translated the Bible. Surely these few facts are most interesting in themselves and cast an extraordinary light upon the joint achievement of Bible societies and missions with which this article is concerned.

For, when all is said, we are not chiefly interested with statistics, nor is it our main aim to set forth the magnitude of this work as an intellectual achievement. It was not an intellectual end as such which the laborers set before themselves, however much of intellectual self-respect they may have had in their task. It is sufficiently impressive that the Bible or parts of the Bible have appeared within the last century in so and so many hundreds of languages, that it has been sold or given away in so many hundreds of millions of copies and thus come within the reach of certainly a thousand million of the human race. But even these are misleading comparisons. The fact is not merely that the Bible has been read in so and so many copies. The question is of the results which have followed upon its reading. We know the elevating and refining influence of good literature, the stimulus and illumination of science and history and criticism or of any other form of thought. It would be

foolish to belittle what these have done for the elevation of mankind. Yet the more heartily we speak their praise, the more astounding will appear in contrast the work done by the pages of the book which the Bible societies and missions have been mainly concerned to put forth. That work has been the work of moral renewal and spiritual uplift. It has been the work of conviction of sin and of righteousness. It has been that of the guidance of the perplexed, the comfort of the sorrowing, the giving of hope to those in despair. We see occasionally in the literature of the propaganda tales of which some may seem to us sentimental or exaggerated and some almost beyond belief. Yet under our own eyes, in mission and settlement work among the submerged here at home, a single sentence from these pages has been sufficient to work the change by which the impure have been restored to purity, the dissolute to sobriety, the unstable have become courageous and responsible, the selfish full of generous consecration. What we know here at home has been multiplied a thousandfold abroad. Tales from the South Sea Islands, from Uganda and of the early days of the opening of Japan leave no doubt of this assertion. It would be strange if in the primitive world, or again in the world not necessarily primitive but, at all events, not Bible-worn, things had not occurred undreamed-of in our philosophy. No one who has any imagination can fail to realize that nearly any one of all the versions which his eye may fall upon in this great catalogue has human documents for its commentary. We turn these pages listlessly. We read only the entry of the date of the version, the size, the contents, the name of the missionary who produced it, the society which published it or subsidized its publication. We learn nothing about the men for whom it was produced. Surely however we are quite safe in assuming that there is not one of these versions which has not behind it the record of lives transformed through its instrumentality. When one thinks of these things, a book which when it was opened seemed but a dry and curious catalogue, becomes upon reflection a source of wonder and admiration and of boundless gratitude. If we are thinking of the forces which have

made for the expansion of Christendom and the naturalization of Christianity in the Orient and Africa and the Islands of the nineteenth century, here is one which is of the first order of importance. Here is an influence which is at the basis of all the education and moral life and spiritual renewal which the Bible societies and the missions have united to exert, of all the contribution which they have made to the development of the race.

Turning again as we close to the homelands, what shall we say of the fact that the Bible societies have been in their interdenominational character a bond of unity in the missionary work and a reminder of the universality of the Christian message, at times when the missionary propaganda threatened to descend to a war of the sects. The earliest missionary societies had been, like the Bible societies themselves, not ecclesiastical agents, not the organizations of particular churches to meet this new need of the time. Quite the contrary. The churches were as such at first almost universally unwilling to enter upon the missionary task. The missionary societies were chartered bodies composed of individuals gathered out of almost every communion, who had what they conceived to be a great need of men and plan of God upon their hearts. The Bible societies were constituted in precisely the same manner and have so remained. The missionary societies, on the other hand, have been very largely appropriated by the denominations. New ones have arisen on the initiative of the denominations. The churches grew ashamed of their lukewarmness. They were zealous to prosecute a work which they had at its inception almost ignored. There came in the missionary work about the middle of the nineteenth century a great wave of sectarianism, profoundly unlike the breadth and Christian unity which had marked the first years. It is also unlike the spirit of comity and comprehensiveness, the desire to bury all sectarianism which animates the best missionary movements in our own time. That era of sectarianism in missions is however an ugly fact which cannot be ignored. It corresponded to an era of intense sectarian strife here in our own land and of mutual

jealousy and intolerance among Christians in various ecclesiastical bodies in England and Scotland as well. In that access of denominational fervor the ecclesiastical politicians in all bodies were eager to possess and to exploit a work which was already successful, which they would hardly have touched had it failed. This sectarian bigotry was bad enough at home. It was however more harmful and less explicable in the mission field. It is a chapter over which we do well to grow contrite. Most churches and missionary societies have by this time turned over a new leaf and pray that the old may be forgiven of God and forgotten of men.

Now all this while the Bible societies pursued the even tenor of their way, true to the impulse of their beginning and to the idea which must rule in the end. They were interdenominational and non-sectarian. They stood for the word of God while the missions too often emphasized also the tradition of men. This is not to say but that the Bible Societies themselves, as in the controversy over the Apocrypha, became confused among the traditions of men, and in their view of revelation and inspiration held informally and unofficially at least very debatable theological views. Still, being necessary to all the churches and the churches' all being necessary to it, the Bible society tended always to remind them of their common elements and to lift them above their contentions. It did this for the churches at home and the service which it thus rendered was even more significant in the mission fields abroad. After the middle of the nineteenth century it was greatly aided in this task also by the Christian Associations. It knew little about the boundaries which fenced the various preserves of Protestants. What is even more remarkable, it set itself over the walls which surround the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. Very wonderful are those chapters in the history of the Bible societies, and particularly of our own American society, in which is recorded the fact that, at times at least, considerable portions of the Roman Catholic world have not been animated by that disposition altogether to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures which

has commonly been attributed to this branch of the Christian church. On the contrary, from the beginning col-porteurs and agents of the Bible society have gone for years up and down countries like Austria and Italy and Spain and the South American republics where a Protestant missionary would hardly have been tolerated. The life of George Borrow and his contribution to literature is famous. His services in the study of the gypsy languages were so conspicuous that it is sometimes forgotten that he was by profession an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Under the Greek church also, particularly in Russia, beginning with the curious pietistical enthusiasms of Alexander I, there was sympathy for Bible work almost throughout the century and throughout the length and breadth of that great land. Only very recently and still in limited degree, is there opportunity for missionary propaganda in any of these lands and Protestant educational institutions are still likely to be looked at askance. The *Syllabus* of Pius IX indeed condemned Bible societies. That fact is evidence that these societies had made themselves felt in lands subject to the Pope's spiritual rule. But then even Frederic Denison Maurice condemned Anglicans who would associate with Protestants in Bible society work. Only very recently has it been possible to hold a conference which sought to canvass in high-minded fashion the principles which should govern the advocacy of freer religion in Latin-American lands. Even to this conference there was objection and fear on the part of some lest it should turn out that only sectarianism was at stake. To others it appears that only sectarianism feels that fear. It requires no prophet to see that for long years to come in Catholic lands, whether Roman or Greek, it will be the Bible work which, of all the aspects of mission work, will arouse least opposition and find readiest acceptance. It is this which will render largest contribution to the renewal of national and individual life.

One more reflection is germane to the trying circumstances in which alike the Bible Society's work and the missionary work find themselves in some at least of their fields as

these anniversary years come round. The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, was the first of a series of like associations which came into being during the stress of the period following the French Revolution or again, during the Napoleonic wars. The Church Missionary Society was formed in 1799. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804 and during the whole first decade of its existence England was involved in the struggle with Napoleon. Our own country stood somewhat on one side from that great struggle, as we now do from the present world conflict. Nevertheless it was profoundly influenced. The dearth of Bibles in this country, which led to the foundation of local societies which antedated the American Bible Society, was one of the direct consequences of the severing of our relation with Great Britain, for there were still government regulations touching the issue of the so-called "Authorized" version, the King James Bible. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first American missionary society, received its charter in 1812; the American Bible Society in 1816. State and county and city Bible societies had existed in this country before that, but mainly for local purposes and for what we should call home missionary ends. Neither in our own country nor yet in Great Britain can we fail to be impressed with the fact that it was out of the midst of those years of turmoil and stress and anxiety concerning the homelands that this access of fervor on behalf of all humanity made itself felt. It was in the years of poverty and heavy taxation that the contributions to these causes began to roll up. There was a certain cosmopolitanism and sense of the unity of all humanity which the international struggle had brought out. There was a deepening of the moral sense and a turning to the sources of comfort and of spiritual strength which were just as noticeable in their own way as were, on the other hand, the demoralization and lowering of standard wrought by the brutalities and miseries of the war. Someone had quoted in one of the early sessions of the British society that beautiful text: "The walls of Jerusalem were built in troublous times." Never a truer word was said.



Every sentence above written is applicable, only in far wider sense, to the emergency in which we now stand. The present international conflict has brought out horrid racial antipathies. It has also set us all yearning for the brotherhood which alone can bring peace. If we are horror-stricken by crimes and atrocities which seem sometimes to threaten the very existence of our civilization, yet also these dreadful days have fostered the mood of universal charity and philanthropy, of mercy and self-sacrifice, of consecration to the healing of wounds which we have been powerless to prevent. There is especially in our own land a marvelously increased knowledge of and interest in the life and lot of peoples whose names are now every day upon men's lips, while only two years ago to the great majority of our countrymen they were vague and remote. The Napoleonic struggle barely touched the lands outside of Europe. The present conflict has hardly left the remotest tribe of all humanity untouched. Nations which we have patronized in our self-sufficiency now mock us because of the downfall of our civilization. We can neither lift ourselves up nor aid the other nations in recovery save in the turning again to moral issues and spiritual aims, to forces which in our prosperity we were tempted to ignore. The Ambassador of our own country to Turkey, himself a Jew, spoke recently to a Christian missionary society concerning its work in the Ottoman Empire and mainly in murdered Armenia. That work seems sometimes levelled with the ground. Yet it had been our greatest field, our joy and pride for a hundred years. The Ambassador said: "Do not think of abandoning that work or of retrenching in that field. Even now while the war lasts your missionaries are almost the only agents of relief of any sort in that stricken land. There is immeasurable need of your presence there even now. There will be still greater opportunity when once the war is over. Then you will face in that land an opening such as you have never dreamed of." A teacher returned from Constantinople within a month reports that although the schools, especially in the country, are often closed, the mission churches scattered, only famine relief and medical

work and the orphanages in full activity, yet even so, the spiritual opportunity of which these missionaries would fain avail themselves is open as almost never before. Especially is this true of Bible work. The comfort of the Scriptures can still, even under these abnormal circumstances, be extended to a people to whom almost every other comfort except the alleviation of their most immediate and dreadful wants is denied. Not in vain have these peoples been taught to read. Not in vain has the land been sown with Testaments and Gospels. These seeds, although at the moment they seemed to fall into the ground and die, yet abide not alone. They have promise and potency in the life of these stricken peoples in the age which is to be. "The walls of Jerusalem were built in troublous times." It has always been so. There are obvious reasons in the nature of religious work why it always will be so.

## THE NEGRO IN THE NEW DEMOCRACY

*By George W. Ellis, K.C., F.R.G.S.*

The story of what is called Negro emancipation is one of the most thrilling chapters in the history of human liberty. The last semi-centennial year marks one of the two greatest triumphs in American progress—the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. By one America was liberated from political tyranny and despotism from without; by the other she was freed from the baleful political doctrines and social practices of master and slave from within. So that every citizen should rejoice, not so much that the Negro was liberated, as that the whole nation—white and black alike—was suddenly moved immeasurably forward for all the races of men on the highway of social progress and civic freedom.

It would be exceedingly difficult to estimate the intellectual, social and moral benefits which emancipation has conferred upon the white citizens of the United States, no less than upon the black. And while we remember that in different ways as in slavery both races suffer still, we rejoice today for the victories of the past as we renew our inspiration for the triumphs and conquests of the future. What is going on in one of our middle west states is interesting to the lovers of social progress.

Chicago is the second city of the continent and in many respects one of the greatest cities of the world; situated on the southwest corner of Lake Michigan, the greatest grain, live stock, railway and lumber center in the United States with the greatest meat packing plant in the world; stretching 30 miles along the lake and with 130 square miles in area and a population of 2,500,000 of all races, speaking 40 languages, with 20 papers in foreign tongues, and divided by the Chicago River very much like Paris is divided by the Seine, Chicago is the most cosmopolitan

of American cities. Here an experiment in democracy is illuminating and encouraging for all classes and races of men.

And it is a significant fact that the first settler in Chicago was the Negro, Jean Baptiste.

### THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE OF LIBERTY

The citizens of Chicago stand for liberty; and liberty is among the dearest possessions of the soul. To be free indeed is the highest attainment and reward of discipline and self-government. The liberty to labor, to possess, to enjoy, to grow and to contribute one's best toward social uplift and progress, are all dear to Chicago citizens.

The same spirit which enabled the Barons of England at Runnymede to wring from King John the first great bulwark of modern liberty; the same spirit which sustained the peasants in the tempestuous tumult of the French Revolution which stained the sunny hills of France with royal blood that the nation might be free; the same spirit which inspired Kossuth of Hungary, Cavour of Italy, Cobden and Bright of later England, and which sustained Washington from the Boston massacre to Yorktown and consoled Lincoln from Harper's Ferry to Appomattox; by that same spirit of liberty the citizens of Chicago have resolved to keep Chicago free, not merely free for white men but free for black men and all mankind.

### THE DAWNING OF THE NEW DEMOCRACY

History and experience show that there can be no liberty and freedom without self-government. True democracy is self-government, the highest and best form of social and political control. No matter how ignorant or how wise as Lincoln said: "No man is good enough to govern another without his consent."

Any group of men excluded from participation in their government are soon given an inferior status in the community and ultimately abandoned to the dependent classes, unable to protect their rights, their property or their homes and are the constant prey of the more favored and ruling

members. So that any government which establishes dependent and inferior classes, whether by race or otherwise, is an aristocracy by whatever other name it may be called. And the essence of all aristocracies is that some sow and work while others reap and enjoy. By the same principle that the highwayman, through fear and force, robs his victim, in aristocratic governments and regimes, the politically favored classes use the functions of government and the organs of society, to exploit and rob on a large scale the subject and dependent classes. For these and other reasons the history of the modern world is chiefly the tragic struggle of men in different countries to establish democracy, as the best protection of their liberty and the surest guarantee of their property, opportunities, destiny and lives.

For these reasons the citizens of Chicago are firm in their attachment to the principles of democracy and grant to the Chicago colored people a greater participation in the city government than the white people in any other American city.

### THE FOUNDATION OF TRUE DEMOCRACY

The citizens of Chicago believe not only in liberty and democracy for all men and races, but in universal education as the safest and surest foundation for the highest possible civic and social achievements. They understand that all men regardless of race do not understand the true mission of democracy, and the proper exercise of the franchise. They know that some white men and some black men mistake license for liberty and that the true exercise of freedom is vouchsafed only to the cultured classes. They know too that there can be no true democracy without universal and the highest education. Chicago adopts the view that it is a natural right of man to govern himself and to participate in his government. That regardless of race no man because of ignorance should be excluded from the franchise. That society is largely responsible for man's ignorance and that the greater his ignorance, the greater is the duty of society to educate him in right conduct and good citizenship. So that in Chicago we are actualizing

the true American ideals of equality more than other large cities, with the children of all races attending together the common and higher schools and with a larger number of colored teachers than is to be found in the mixed schools of other cities.

### THE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION

The Chicago spirit for liberty, for democracy and universal education is not to be entirely credited to white Chicago, for colored Chicago has been an important factor in this promising situation. I understand New York with nearly 92,000 colored people has only 1 colored patrolman, while Chicago with 44,000 has something like 125 ranking as high as lieutenant.

Nine cities exceed Chicago in colored population. Because of no political representation Washington, D. C., is excluded. But the remaining eight cities have no colored representation in the state legislature.

New York.....	92,000
New Orleans.....	89,000
Baltimore.....	85,000
Philadelphia.....	85,000
Memphis.....	52,000
Birmingham.....	52,000
Atlanta.....	52,000
Richmond.....	47,000

Four of these cities have more than double the colored population of Chicago. Two of these are in northern states, one in a border state and the other in the far South. The only four with only a few thousand more colored people than Chicago are also in the South, where conditions are abnormal.

In only a few northern states have the colored people been able to send a representative to the legislature. They sent several from Boston, one from Parsons, Kansas, several from Philadelphia, and several in Ohio, among them a state senator, John P. Green.

But long after this representation disappeared Chicago colored people kept a representative at Springfield. A few

years ago they demanded and secured another and now have two.

Chicago colored people keep a member on the County Board, the highest political body in Cook County. It is common now to have assistant states' attorneys and assistants in the city law department, there being now three lawyers and one chief investigator. We have a number of probation officers and countless clerks in the other branches of the local and Federal service. The manifestation of race prejudice over the country in recent years became so pronounced that the Chicago colored people became aroused and for their protection and welfare they rose up and selected one of their number to represent them in the Chicago City Council.

They are now beginning to demand representation in the State Senate and on the Chicago School Board and it is thought by many that the next colored congressman at Washington will come from the black belt of Chicago.

Attention is called to these considerations only to show that the colored citizen has and is contributing much to make Chicago the best place in America for the colored man as well as the white.

### THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN HISTORY

It is encouraging to remember that the Negro has an honorable place in history.

Professor Franz Boaz of Columbia University, New York, speaking of the white race said:

When our own ancestors still utilized stone implements, or at best, when bronze weapons were first introduced, the Negro had developed the art of smelting iron; and it seems likely that their race has contributed more than any other to the early development of the iron industry.

Professor Sergi of the University of Rome in his work, *The Mediterranean Race* and Professor Ripley in his *History of the European Races* present a wealth of facts showing that a Mediterranean race of which the Negro was a branch, rather than the Aryan, or white, gave to the world the

beginning in art, science, astronomy, mathematics and religion.

Count de Volney, more than a century ago in his *Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires* pays a splendid tribute to the Negro people of ancient Thebes in these positive words:

There a people now forgotten, discovered, while others were barbarians, the elements of the arts and sciences. A race of men, now rejected from society for their sable skin and frizzled hair, founded on the study of the laws of nature those civil and religious systems which still govern the universe.

Professor Eckler in his preface to Volney's work makes this startling confession:

A voluminous note, in which the standard authorities are cited, seems to prove that this statement is substantially correct, and that we are in reality indebted to the ancient Ethiopians, to the fervid imagination of the persecuted and despised Negro, for the various religious systems now so highly revered by the different branches of both the Semitic and Aryan races.

And we now know that what is called the Aryan or white man's civilization in its first principles was worked out by black men in the Negroland and Kingdom of Meroe in Africa in the valley of the Nile and transmitted to Ethiopia, thence to Egypt and from Egypt to Greece and from Greece to Rome. Listen to what Hoskins says, a noted traveler and Egyptologist:

According to Keeren, Champollion, Rosellini and other eminent inquirers, whose judgment was confirmed by my own observations, this was the land whence came the arts and learning of Egypt and ultimately of Greece and Rome derived their origin. In this remarkable country we behold the earliest efforts of human science and ingenuity.

It is hardly necessary to say that the worthy representatives of such antecedents are now leading their race to its proper place among the modern races of our day.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF NOTED NEGROES

Aside from the Negro's contributions to civilization the shining example of distinguished Negroes through the



centuries demonstrate beyond debate the natural and potential possibilities and equality of the Negro races. The possibilities of races are shown no better than in the attainments of their great men.

Beginning with Negro Kings and Queens of Egypt, one of the five poets of Damascus was a Negro, Nasseyeb. When ancient Japan was conquering the Ainu people of northern Asia the Japanese army was led by a noted Negro general, Tamuramoro.

Napoleon had a celebrated Negro general in his army, Alexander Dumas, who went with Bonaparte to Egypt and distinguished himself in the Army of the Alps. Henry Diaz, who drove the Dutch from Portuguese America and won distinction as a military leader, was a Negro general. The man who freed the slaves in Haiti against the colonial avarice of England, Spain and Napoleon in France, and who proved himself one of the greatest generals and statesman of the world was Toussaint L'Overture, a Negro, and of whom Wordsworth sang:

There's not a breathing of the common wind,  
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Whittier referred to him as born in slavery and,

Casting aside the weary weight,  
And fetters of its low estate,  
In that strong majesty of soul,  
Which knows no color, tongue or clime,  
Which still hath spurned the base control  
Of tyrants through all time.

Hannivaloo of Russia, decorated with the red ribbon of the order of St. Alexander Neuski and whose son became lieutenant-general of artillery and who built the harbor and fortress at Cherson was a Negro, and his granddaughter was the mother of Alexander Sergeivich Pouskin, one of Russia's greatest poets.

He who built the modern empire of Abyssinia, who defeated the Italians at the pass of Adowa and kept his people free from the colonial control of Europe was Memelik, a

Negro Emperor of the only independent government in Africa except Liberia.

The man who first commanded the allied forces in the Boxer rebellion in China was Alfred Amedée Dodds, a Negro general of the French army and who was born at Senegal in West Africa.

Oge', who led the revolt of the colored people in Santo Domingo and who died on the wheel for the liberty of black men as John Brown died on the scaffold, was a Negro. In efforts to force him to give the names of his accomplices his trial was delayed by his executioners and he was tortured and persecuted for two months. He urged his execution by these intrepid words:

Give up all hope, give up all hope of extracting from me the name of one of my accomplices. My accomplices are everywhere where the heart of man is raised against the oppressors of men.

#### THE NEGRO IN ART AND LITERATURE

By nature, the Negro is a natural artist. The paintings of Henry O. Tarnier, a Negro artist, decorate the art galleries of Europe and America. Ira Aldridge, a Negro tragedian, in *Othello* and other Shakespearean tragedies, won such distinction that he was decorated by a number of the crown heads of Europe. The sculpture of Meta W. Fuller and Edmonia Lewis, two colored Americans, recall the figures and forms of love and awe which adorned the Grecian Parthenon. J. Rosamund Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Harry Burleigh and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, have charmed and entranced the lovers of music of all races in almost every section of our earth. L'Islet Geoffroy, as a member of the French Academy of Science; James E. J. Captain, versed in Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean and as a writer of elegies and dissertations in Latin; Anthony William Amo, as philosopher and professor in the University of Wittenberg; Don Juan Latino, as professor of Latin in the University of Granada; Ahmad Baba of the African Sudan, as author of more than twenty books on law and science; Abderrahman Sadi of Timbuctu, Africa, as the writer of *Tarik a-Sudan*, now being translated by Professor Hondas

of the University of Paris; besides many others worthy of mention to say nothing of our scholarly W. E. B. Dubois, W. S. Scarborough, W. H. Ferris, C. G. Woodson, William Stanley-Braithwaite, Booker T. Washington and Kelly Miller are more than sufficient to show the work of the Negro in literature and in the highest and purest scholarship.

### FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO PROGRESS

Increasing from 4,000,000 to 10,000,000 in population the progress of the Negro in the United States in fifty years has startled the world. He has accumulated 400,000 homes and farms and in personal and real property over \$1,000,000,000. Beginning as an ignorant servant he has differentiated into over 220,000 owners of farms, 300,000 skilled workmen, 75,000 in professions, 30,000 in business, 23,000 in the Federal service, 6000 authors of books, more than a 1000 inventors, and in education he has reduced his illiteracy to 30 per cent. With 70 banks, 30,000 teachers, and 3,000,000 Negroes in the public schools, colleges and universities of the country, against great odds, the American Negro with invincible tread is marching toward self-development and group consciousness onward and upward to the glorious heights of a man's place in the new American democracy.

And as he scales the fortified and tangled peaks of race prejudice and discrimination, as he looks out upon bespan-gled plains and verdant meads, where summer's sun sifts through interlacing boughs, where soft and sombre zephyrs sigh and music-throated birds enchant the listening air, I fancy I can hear him exclaim:

When foes upon me press, let me not quail  
Nor think to turn me into coward flight,  
I only ask to make my arms prevail,  
Strength for the fight.

## THE UNITED STATES AND SANTO DOMINGO, 1789-1866

*By Mary Treudley, Ph.D., Clark University*

The twentieth century has witnessed the awakening of a new interest on the part of the United States in the island of Santo Domingo, an interest stimulated by the wave of imperialism which has swept through the western world and which has caused the United States to feel, with especial force since the building of the Panama Canal, that the Caribbean is an American sea and to covet for the defense of its great waterway the guardianship of the islands which dot the American Mediterranean.

But, though the cause of the interest in this little West Indian island may be new, the interest itself is almost as old as American history and has passed through phases of greater intensity than the present. During the eighteenth century the trade between the North American colonies and Santo Domingo constituted one of the most important economic factors in colonial life and development; while in the critical last decade of that century, when American history was almost synonymous with the record of foreign affairs, the interaction of the two countries upon each other did much to change the destiny of each. And again in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century, when the dreams of a slave-empire in the West Indies captivated the fancies of southern slave-owners, Santo Domingo became an object of keen interest to its northern neighbor.

It is my purpose to chronicle the interrelations between the histories of the United States and Santo Domingo in the period from 1789 to 1866. An introductory chapter on trade relations existing between the two countries during the eighteenth century furnishes the economic background for the political connections which had their beginning as the French Revolution spread through the French

colonial possessions. The period dealt with divides into two main parts. The first, from 1789 to 1803, is the period in which the French still retained their hold upon the island, the richest of all their colonies. The second, from 1803 to 1866, covers the first half of the history of Haitian independence and ends with the granting of the long-sought and grudgingly-given recognition of that independence by the United States.

## CHAPTER I

### TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SANTO DOMINGO DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It was on his first voyage of discovery that Columbus reached the island to which he gave the name Hispaniola and in which he established the first city founded by Europeans in the western hemisphere, Santo Domingo City, which still breathes a quaint Old World atmosphere. The history of Spain in Santo Domingo is one repeated in every land into which the Spaniards penetrated; a greedy search for gold, the extermination of the natives by a policy of reckless exploitation, and restrictive trade regulations which prevented the development of any sound colonial economy. The result was a gradual draining off of the conquistadores to Mexico and Peru where more alluring prizes were being offered to those adventurous spirits. But, though the colony decayed, Spain retained her hold upon the eastern half of the island until well into the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The western half she early abandoned, for, while it was to prove the richest treasure-mine of all the West Indian islands, it was poor in the precious metals which alone Spain seemed able to garner. In 1697, at the Peace of Ryswick, she made the formal surrender of her rights to France. It is the French half of the island which is of interest during the colonial period, for interest centers in

<sup>1</sup> The standard authority for the early history of Santo Domingo is Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue*.

the trade connections of the colony with the outside world and of such connections Spanish Santo Domingo had none.

Early in the seventeenth century, roving bands of buccaneers and freebooters found a footing on the little island of Tortuga and from there made their way over to the deserted western half of the island of Santo Domingo. Outcasts of all nations, they kept a precarious hold upon the island, often driven away by the Spaniards but as often returning, and from it they sallied forth on their marauding expeditions to spread terror over the Spanish Main.

It was long a question of doubt whether England or France would assert supremacy over this lawless colony but by 1660 the question was settled<sup>2</sup> and in 1664 France granted the island to the Company of the West Indies just established.<sup>3</sup>

To Colbert was entrusted the task of building up the French colonial empire and for assistance he resorted to great chartered companies, one of his principal objects being "to establish trade with the islands and mainland of America, which foreigners had usurped for sixty years, in order to preserve for our people the advantages which their courage and their industry had given them the right to enjoy from the discovery of a great expanse of land in this part of the world."<sup>4</sup> It proved especially difficult, however, to establish a company monopoly of trade among the colonists of Santo Domingo, who were unused to any restraint, or to break up their trade with the Dutch "who had never let them lack for anything at a period when the presence of French at Tortuga and St. Domingo was unknown in France."<sup>5</sup> Repeated regulations against trade with foreigners had the effect of increasing the trade carried on under the French flag and at the same time of making more hazardous all other trade with the island. But,

<sup>2</sup> Vaissière, *Saint-Domingue: La Société et la vie Créoles sous l'Ancien Régime*, 6-10.

<sup>3</sup> Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

though for over a hundred years French colonial policy forbade any commercial connections between its possessions and the outside world, foreign trade with Santo Domingo continued almost without interruption and increased steadily in amount.

Just when trade with the North American colonies began is uncertain. In 1675 a Boston ketch was admitted into Martinique with provisions.<sup>6</sup> and in 1681 the refiners of Guadeloupe and Martinique petitioned for permission to trade 'with the English colonies, especially those in the neighborhood of Boston.'<sup>7</sup> Direct intercourse between New England and Santo Domingo probably began somewhat later, for the basis of the trade was sugar and molasses and in 1682 Santo Domingo was just beginning to establish sugar plantations and a decade later it was still clinging to tobacco as its monopoly product.<sup>8</sup> It was not until the Treaty of Utrecht had been signed that the trade assumed proportions of any importance, but the year following the treaty the *Boston News Letter* begins its record of vessels from Santo Domingo.

The principal objects of exchange were: from the British colonies, salt fish which was too poor to find a market in Spain and Portugal but which fed the slaves of the great sugar plantations; salt meat and vegetables for the planter's table; spermaceti candles and lamp oil to illuminate his home; staves and hoops for the thousands of hogsheads which Santo Domingo yearly filled with sugar and molasses; lumber for building and even house-frames ready to be set up by unskilled negro labor; and live stock and horses for the plantations. The French island in return furnished an ever-abundant supply of molasses, which, converted into rum, formed an important article of exchange in the African slave-trade, among the Indians in return for furs, and among the fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks. In addition Santo Domingo paid its adverse balance in trade in specie which served as a circulating medium on the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 257, 258.

American continent and helped to pay the bills which the American colonists owed in ever-increasing amounts to European merchants.<sup>9</sup>

In theory the French government was opposed to this trade between the French West Indies and the British colonies and passed numerous laws against it, threatening with the galleys any colonist who dared to trade with a foreigner.<sup>10</sup> But practically such a prohibition proved impossible, for foreign trade was an absolute necessity to Santo Domingo.

The island needed the North American colonies as a market for its molasses and rum. Sugar was admitted into France but its by-products were forbidden importation from the fear that they might come into competition with French wines and brandies. A vent had to be found for them elsewhere if the sugar plantations were to prosper. But the English colonies were even more important as a source of food supplies than as a market. Highly specialized as Santo Domingo was in the production of sugar and coffee, she was utterly unable to feed herself and had to depend on external sources for almost her entire supply of provisions. France, in her attempt to retain a monopoly over this branch of trade, showed herself incapable and even unwilling to meet the demand. In times of peace her merchant marine proved inadequate and during war when her merchant vessels were swept from the seas, her colonies were dependent on foreigners, Dutch, American, and even English, for subsistence.

To make the French empire entirely self-sufficing would have required not only the mother-country and the West Indian colonies, but trading-posts on the coasts of Africa, guaranteeing a sufficient supply of slaves, and well-de-

<sup>9</sup> Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations sur l'État Présent de la Colonie française de Saint-Domingue*, 295. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue*, I, 606. *An Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies of Great Britain in North America*. 6. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iii, 173, 568.

<sup>10</sup> Levasseur *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, i, 488, 489.



veloped colonies in the temperate zone.<sup>11</sup> That Canada or Louisiana might take the place held in Santo Domingan economy by the British colonies was a cherished dream of French statesmen from Colbert to Napoleon;<sup>12</sup> but neither country had reached a sufficiently high economic development, before they were lost to France, to make them important factors in Santo Domingan trade.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the regulations against it, foreign trade continued. In times of need governors were permitted to relax the regulations,<sup>14</sup> officials could be bribed and smuggling was easy in the bays and creeks along the coasts of Santo Domingo. Neither in quantity, quality nor price of food stuffs could France compete with the North American colonies in her own possessions, and, pass what regulations she might, it was impossible for her to keep American provisions out of the French islands; all she could do was to place obstacles in the way of the trade which would make it more difficult and less profitable.

The most vehement complaints against this trade in the early part of the eighteenth century came not from the French merchants, but from the British West India planters who hoped by monopolizing commerce with the continental colonies to buy their food stuffs at a lower price and to command a better market for their sugar and molasses. Complaints began as early as 1715.<sup>15</sup> In 1717 the Board of Trade issued instructions to the governors of the North American colonies to forbid all trade with the French possessions as being illegal, though their contention as to the illegality of the traffic seems to have been without foundation.<sup>16</sup> Despite the prohibition of the Board of Trade, exchange continued. For the year 1730 the Boston News-Letter reports eleven vessels from Cap Français, the

<sup>11</sup> Mims, *op. cit.*, 334.

<sup>12</sup> Mims, *op. cit.*, 315-318. *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 94.

<sup>13</sup> Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *op. cit.*, 294.

<sup>14</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.* 1, 489. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *op. cit.*, 282.

<sup>15</sup> Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iii, 171.

<sup>16</sup> Beer, *British Colonial Policy 1764-1766*, 75. *The Boston News-Letter*, February 3-10, 1718.

chief city of French Santo Domingo,<sup>17</sup> out of a total of 533 entering Boston Harbor.

Renewed attacks from the British West Indies however, were made upon this trade. In 1731 a bill to prevent the importation of sugar, rum and molasses into the British colonies from foreign possessions passed the House of Commons but was dropped in the House of Lords.<sup>18</sup> Continued agitation during the next two years resulted in the passage of the Molasses Act in 1733, which imposed a duty of ninepence a gallon on rum, sixpence on molasses and five shillings a hundredweight on sugar. The duties imposed were so high that enforcement of the act would have put an end to the trade which the northern colonies considered the basis of their prosperity.<sup>19</sup> Fortunately for them, it became a dead letter almost as soon as it was placed upon the statute-book and no serious attempt to enforce it was made for twenty-five years.<sup>20</sup>

That the Molasses Act was at last made effective was due to the fact that the British colonies were unwilling to suspend trade with the French islands even during the wars which France and England waged with each other in this century. They lacked a realizing sense of the unity of their interests with those of Great Britain, while the high prices obtaining in the French islands stimulated their love of gain. The condition of Santo Domingo in war-time was pitiable. The French merchant-marine, inadequate for the task of provisioning the island in times of peace, disappeared from the seas at the opening of war, leaving the colony dependent on foreign trade for the necessities of life. Prices immediately jumped to fifteen or twenty times their original amount, while the slaves, the first to suffer, died by the thousands.<sup>21</sup> No wonder that the re-

<sup>17</sup> *The Boston News-Letter*, February 25-March 4, 1731.

<sup>18</sup> Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iii, 171.

<sup>19</sup> M. B., *A Letter to the West India Merchants*. Macpherson, *op. cit.*, 171 ss.

<sup>20</sup> Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic: England and America*, 330. thinks that the act was not intended to be put into force.

<sup>21</sup> *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 101.

wards for trade under such conditions were so great as to overbalance the feeble spirit of patriotism felt by the British colonies for the mother country.

This American trade exercised a decisive influence on the events of the wars fought in America; for England, with her control of the seas, counted on being able to starve the French colonies into submission and to prevent action on the part of the French army and navy by making it impossible for them to secure provisions and equipment. But the advantages obtained from English sea-power were neutralized by the action of the English colonists who kept the French colonies from starvation and furnished provisions and munitions of war to the French army and navy to such an amount that the English could at times supply themselves only with difficulty and at high prices.

During the War of the Austrian Succession such was the extent of the trade between the North American colonies and the French West Indies that Admiral Knowles declared it "had resulted in the failure of English naval operations in the Caribbean Sea".<sup>22</sup> But it was in the French War that the trade reached its height. Through cartel ships and flags of truce or by trade through Dutch Curaçao and St. Eustatia,<sup>23</sup> an active commerce was carried on with the French islands. Moreover in 1759 and 1760 a more direct trade was established through Monte Cristi, in ordinary times a sleepy little village in Spanish Santo Domingo, just over the border from Cap Français, but made into a free port and transformed by the war into a busy commercial harbor where at times a hundred vessels lay at anchor, bringing provisions for the French forces to be exchanged for French sugar and molasses.<sup>24</sup> Complaints against this trade were numerous and at length the English government was aroused to take decisive steps to end it. The chief means adopted were the enforcement of

<sup>22</sup> Beer, *op. cit.*, 73.

<sup>23</sup> *Remarks on several acts of Parliament relating more especially to the Colonies abroad, etc.*, 35.

<sup>24</sup> *The Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800*, i, 79, 80, 82, 88, gives a few examples of such voyages to Monte Cristi.

the Molasses Act for which Writs of Assistance were called into use, and the employment of British men of war as revenue cutters to prevent smuggling.

This trade with Monte Cristi brought home to the English government the laxness in administration of the customs laws. To prevent further violations of these laws Lord Grenville introduced his famous Sugar Act of 1764, which lowered the duty on molasses from sixpence to threepence a gallon but made stringent provisions for its collection. It was this attempt to interfere with the profits of the West Indian trade and the friction arising between the customs officials charged with the prevention of smuggling, and the American colonists, which led so directly to the American Revolution.<sup>25</sup>

In the French regulations no change was made until after the Treaty of Paris, 1763. The law of 1727 forbidding all trade with foreigners remained on the statute-book. Choiseul promised the merchants of the French ports interested in the colonial trade that he would provide for its enforcement but economic conditions were too strong for him and in 1767 he was compelled to adopt the free port system.<sup>26</sup> Two free ports were established in the French West Indies, one in Saint-Lucie and the other in Santo Domingo at Môle Saint-Nicolas, where foreigners might bring rice, lumber, vegetables and live-stock, the importation of salted meats and fish being forbidden; and might take in exchange molasses and rum.<sup>27</sup> The change was far from satisfying either the Yankee trader or the Santo Domingan planter; for the list of imports was small and fish, which was most essential, was excluded. In addition the normal result of the free port system followed in that the merchants at Môle Saint-Nicholas formed a monopoly which absorbed most of the profits of the Ameri-

<sup>25</sup> The most careful investigator of the trade between the North American colonies and the French West Indies during the wars of the eighteenth century is Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*.

<sup>26</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.*, i, 489.

<sup>27</sup> Mills, *The Early Years of the French Revolution in San Domingo*, 12.

can trader on the one hand and of the French planters outside of Môle on the other.<sup>28</sup>

Changes were soon made in this new system. In August, 1769, flour and other food stuffs were added to the list of imports allowed entrance into Môle Saint-Nicolas,<sup>29</sup> while the outbreak of the American Revolution necessitated a complete reversal of the French policy. The first two years of the war, during which the English were quite successful in breaking up American trade with the West Indies,<sup>30</sup> caused a great deal of suffering in Santo Domingo. The failure of crops in the island, added to the interruption of the trade upon which Santo Domingo depended for its subsistence, increased prices many fold while in those two years thirty thousand slaves are said to have perished.<sup>31</sup> By 1777 trade began to resume its old routes and in 1778 the French colonial ports were thrown open to the vessels of foreign nations.<sup>32</sup>

The last years of the American War of Independence brought commercial prosperity but its close raised many anxious questions in regard to the commercial status of the United States. Could the advantages which had formerly been enjoyed within the British colonial system be retained after the restrictions of that system had been abolished? France and Spain, Holland and Denmark, had opened their ports to Americans during the war. Did this indicate a settled policy for the future or was the old colonial system to be re-established as soon as the war was over?

The English answer to these questions was decided. Despite the efforts of Pitt, England retained her old policy of confining English trade to English vessels and rigidly excluded from such trade all American vessels.<sup>33</sup> French

<sup>28</sup> *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 113-114.

<sup>29</sup> Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *op. cit.*, 286.

<sup>30</sup> Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iii, 595.

<sup>31</sup> *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 120-121.

<sup>32</sup> Channing, *History of the United States*, iii, 389, 409, n. *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes maritimes de France*, 125. Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iv, 55.

<sup>33</sup> Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America*, 189. Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iv, 26.

legislation was not quite so exclusive. In July, 1783, American merchants seem to have been given permission "to furnish our Colonies (of France) with every kind of their commodities, that *our nation cannot supply us with.*"<sup>24</sup> In March, 1784, the ordinance of 1767 was again put into force making Môle Saint-Nicolas the sole port of entry in Santo Domingo, at the desire of the merchants, particularly of Bordeaux, Nantes and La Rochelle in which the colonial trade centered, who complained that "thrown out of their trade" by foreigners during the American Revolution, they had "become bankrupts in great numbers," and reminded the government that "the national revenue deeply felt the loss of the best branch of the national trade."<sup>25</sup> The effect of this ordinance was to raise prices at once and to stimulate contraband trade which began "not at Le Cap, because that was impossible, but in all the little ports along the coast, from Port Margot to Môle Saint-Nicolas, despite the vigilance and activity of the officer in command of the fleet."<sup>26</sup>

In August a new arrêt was passed which was looked upon by the French merchants as revolutionary and a complete overturning of the colonial system which had been in force ever since the days of Colbert. By it six free ports were established in place of the two already open, one each in Saint-Lucie, Martinique and Guadeloupe, and three in Santo Domingo, at Cap Français, Port au Prince and Les Cayes. Into these ports American vessels of at least sixty tons were admitted "loaded with timber of all kinds, dyewoods, coals, live stock, salt beef (but not salt pork), salt fish, rice, legumes, raw or tanned hides, peltry, rosin, pitch, and tar," and were permitted to take in return "only molasses and rum (taffia) and goods brought from France, on paying the local duties established, or to be

<sup>24</sup> Chalmers, *Opinions on Interesting Subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy*, 81. Channing, *History of the United States*, iii, 409, n. states that he has been unable to find this ordinance.

<sup>25</sup> Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iv, 55.

<sup>26</sup> *Lettres Critique et Politique sur les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 131.

established in each colony, with a further duty of one per cent ad valorem on all imports and exports."<sup>37</sup>

This ordinance aroused a storm of complaints among the French mercantile class, quick to detect any change detrimental to their interests, while petitions from the seaports through their chambers of commerce poured in upon the government.<sup>38</sup> The government, however, stood firm, contenting itself with modifications which gave a decided advantage to the French fisheries over the American.<sup>39</sup>

In the United States, on the other hand, the measure was not looked upon as being particularly favorable to American trade. The ordinance "excluded some of our principal staples, especially flour," while as to return cargoes, "all cotton, coffee, sugar, and other productions (rum and molasses excepted) were prohibited; and we could, except occasionally by local relaxations of the general law, rightfully obtain none of them from the French West Indian islands."<sup>40</sup> In addition, the "conditions under which the commerce was carried on proved burdensome; 16 American vessels were seized by the French in 1785."<sup>41</sup>

During Jefferson's residence as American minister at Paris, he made repeated attempts to secure extensions in trade privileges but in vain. The "temper of that period" made it impossible to obtain further concessions.<sup>42</sup> Certain advantages were, however, derived from the Anglo-French treaty of 1786, which "established complete and reciprocal freedom of navigation and commerce, even in times of war, freedom of sojourn and of travel in all the possessions of the two sovereigns."<sup>43</sup> This was followed in 1787 by the Franco-American convention which granted to the United States the advantages enjoyed by the most favored nation in the American colonies, to

<sup>37</sup> Macpherson, *op. cit.*, iv, 55-56.

<sup>38</sup> Déschamps, *Histoire de la Question Coloniale en France*, 312.

<sup>39</sup> Lodge, *Works of Hamilton*, iv, 213.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Channing, *op. cit.*, iii, 412, n. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, vi, 80.

<sup>43</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.*, i, 540.

the joy of the French colonists and the grief of the French merchants.<sup>44</sup>

But, as during the earlier part of the century, contreband trade came to supplement that regularly authorized and the privileges granted served only as a stimulus to the growth of illegal traffic.<sup>45</sup>

The estimate of the value to the United States of the trade with the French West Indies, of which Santo Domingo was by far the most important, may be found scattered through the writings of the Critical Period. John Adams, whose residence in New England gave him an especially strong interest in commerce, recurs to this subject repeatedly in his correspondence of June and July, 1783, written from Paris. On July 3, he wrote to Livingston, then Secretary of State:

The commerce of the West India Islands falls necessarily into the natural system of the commerce of the United States. We are necessary to them, and they are to us; and there will be commerce between us. If the governments forbid it, it will be carried on clandestinely.<sup>46</sup>

A week and a half before he had written:

The nations of Europe, who have islands in the West Indies, have at this moment a delicate part to take. Upon their present decision great things will depend. The commerce of the West India Islands is a part of the American system of commerce. They can neither do without us, nor we without them. . . . Obstinate attempts to prevent the islands and the continent, by force or policy, from deriving from each other those blessings which nature has enabled them to afford, will only put both to thinking of means of coming together. And an injudicious regulation at this time may lay a foundation for intimate combinations between the islands and the continent, which otherwise would not be wished for, or thought of by either.<sup>47</sup>

La Fayette, in a letter to Vergennes of about the same time, also expressed a fear of the strengthening of political ties between the two countries by the refusal of freedom of trade between them. He wrote:

<sup>44</sup> Zimmermann, *Die Kolonialpolitik Frankreichs von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* 252.

<sup>45</sup> Boissonade, *Saint-Domingue à la Veille de la Révolution*, 24.

<sup>46</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, viii, 79.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, 74-75.



The United States possessing superabundant productions, and the islands having wants in common with them, which bring them together; it is to be feared that the refusal of an honest freedom will lead them to a general license. If every thing is forbidden to them, the Americans, as well as the inhabitants of the colonies, will break all laws, but the assurance of a lawful profit, will drive away smuggling, which brings vexations, animosities, wastes the King's revenue, destroys all arrangements in favor of our commerce, and loosens the political ties.<sup>48</sup>

To the same effect Turgot, who doubted the value of colonial possessions to France, expressed his conviction that the Americans would be compelled to fight "not to conquer the colonies, if they are at all wise, but to aid them to free themselves, to form an alliance with them, or to incorporate them in their union."<sup>49</sup>

Jefferson, too, whose interest in commerce was so great that "his diplomatic correspondence with Vergennes and Montmorin fairly reeks with the flavors of whale oils, salt-fish, and tobacco,"<sup>50</sup> wrote that "access to the West Indies is indispensably necessary to us."<sup>51</sup> And again; "The effecting *treaties* with the *powers* holding *positions* in the *West Indies*, I consider as the *important* part of our *business*. It is not of great consequence whether the *others* *treat* or not."<sup>52</sup> His great anxiety was how to obtain such privileges from France since we had already given her all we had to offer in return for her aid during our war of Independence. It was in regard to this phase of the question that he wrote:

Holland has purchased the protection of France. The price she pays is *aid in time of war*. It is interesting to us to purchase a free commerce with the French islands. But whether it is best to pay for it, by *aids in war*, or by *privileges in commerce*, or not to purchase it at all, is the question.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America from the Treaty of Paris to the adoption of the Present Constitution*, i, 401.

<sup>49</sup>Schöne, *La Politique de la France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle à l'Égard des Colonies*, 407.

<sup>50</sup>Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 71.

<sup>51</sup>Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, iv, 58.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, iv, 31.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, iv, 130.

The Comte de Moustier, in his correspondence as French minister to the United States, also bears witness to the keen interest among Americans in questions of trade which was to be found not only among "the merchants, but the planters who have need of a market for their produce. The Antilles appear to them to offer the most convenient one." Later he wrote of American expectations:

The greater number dream of demanding more, rather than of being grateful for what has been granted. In general they do not cease to keep in view a greater liberty of commerce with the Antilles, where they wish that American flour may be admitted and from which they wish to export sugar and coffee directly. . . . To hear them, one would believe at times that all that they have obtained was due them and that every refusal to grant further concessions is an injustice.<sup>44</sup>

The value of the trade carried on between the United States and Santo Domingo during the Critical Period is difficult to estimate. Boissonade places the ostensible traffic of the island with foreign nations in 1788 at seven million francs imports and three million seven hundred thousand francs exports, but adds that the contraband trade had been given "new encouragement."<sup>45</sup> Dubuisson gives a tentative estimate of the value of the contraband trade as from fifteen to twenty million francs.<sup>46</sup>

The importance of the trade for the later relations of the two countries rested, however, not in its amount, but in the very fact of its existence. Economic interdependence augured at least a certain degree of political interdependence, while exchange of articles of commerce foreshadowed the exchange of political ideals and the spread through the French colony of the revolutionary sentiments which had already freed the United States.

<sup>44</sup> *American Historical Review*, viii, 724, 725.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>46</sup> *Lettres Critique et Politique sur Les Colonies et le Commerce des Villes Maritimes de France*, 113.

## CHAPTER II

## THE EARLY DAYS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN SANTO DOMINGO

The most important factor in molding the history of Santo Domingo was the French Revolution, which, because of the very completeness with which it overturned established customs and ways of thought, could not by any chance be confined within the boundaries of France. The beginning of the movement found an echo throughout the French colonies, while its progress was closely correlated in the mother country and in the French over-seas possessions. In Santo Domingo the reaction to revolutionary sentiments was particularly violent, partly because of the wealth and importance of the colony and partly because of the spirit of freedom and liberty which had been indelibly stamped upon the colony in its early days of buccaneering and freebooting.

The history of the revolutionary movement in Santo Domingo may, for convenience, be divided into three main divisions: the first, from 1789 to 1793, the period which saw the downfall of the white supremacy in the island; the second, from 1793 to 1800, the period of the black supremacy under Toussaint Louverture; and the third, from 1800 to 1803, which witnessed the attempt of Napoleon to restore the power of France over the colony and his failure.<sup>57</sup> It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the struggle. The movement was even more complex in Santo Domingo than in France for not only were there all the cross-currents which divided class from class among the whites in the mother country, but there were further complications arising from creole jealousies and especially from the distinctness with which the color line was drawn in the island.

Of the causes which precipitated the French Revolution in Santo Domingo, the only one of interest to us is the desire for economic freedom. Wide as were the departures already made from Colbert's ideal of a strict monopoly of colonial trade for the benefit of the French merchants the

<sup>57</sup> Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, ix.

colonists were far from satisfied. Their prosperity paled before their visions of profits under a system of free trade, and their early efforts were directed in part toward the attempted realization of these visions. Jefferson recognized the possibilities for the United States in such a state of affairs and wrote to William Short, whom he had left as American chargé d'affaires at Paris, in August, 1790, as follows:

The French colonies will doubtless claim in their new constitution, a right to receive the necessaries of life from whomever will deliver them cheapest; to wit, grain, flour, live stock, salted fish, and other salted provisions. It would be well that you should confer with their deputies, guardedly, and urge them to this demand, if they need urging.<sup>58</sup>

The Santo Domingan planters had, by that time, already made an attempt to extend their trade privileges by making use of their governor, Du Chilleau, sent over in December 1788, a weak man and very much under their influence.<sup>59</sup> The ordinance of 1784 seems to have given a certain latitude to the colonial governor in opening the ports of the colonies for the admission of food stuffs, provided that "any regulation to this effect made by him must at once be forwarded to the Minister of Marine for his approval."<sup>60</sup>

The excuse for a change at this time in trade regulations was the shortage of crops in France during the winter of 1788-1789, which threatened a serious famine there, and which cut down to an alarming extent the exportation of food to the colony. To quote from a report by the deputies of Santo Domingo to a committee of the National Assembly, during the first three months, of 1789, Port au Prince required for subsistence 27,000 barrels of flour. French importation during the period amounted to 5526 barrels or a quantity sufficient for only twenty-nine out of the ninety days.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, v, 236.

<sup>59</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 76.

<sup>60</sup> Mills, *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>61</sup> *Précis Remis par les Députés de Saint-Domingue aux six Commissaires du Comité d'Agriculture et de Commerce, chargés de rendre compte à l'Assemblée Nationale de l'affaire relative à l'approvisionnement de cette Isle*, 1, n.

Under such circumstances Du Chilleau, by a decree of March 31, 1789, added flour to the list of imports at the three ports of entry, importation to be permitted until June 30.<sup>62</sup> So far he was within his rights, but two later decrees in May exceeded the authority given to the governor. The first, of May 9, erected two additional free ports in the southern province and greatly extended the list of imports;<sup>63</sup> the second practically "opened temporarily all the ports of the island to the importation of bread and foreign grain, and allowed free exportation of colonial products."<sup>64</sup>

These ordinances aroused a tempest in France. The instructions to the deputy from La Rochelle expressed the sentiments of the other port towns. "Request prompt orders for putting an end to the horrible effects of the Ordinance; it tends to strike at the prosperity of the merchants, and it will insensibly cause French navigation to decline. Insist above all on the reestablishment of the prohibitive régime in the colonies."<sup>65</sup> The French government took prompt action in regard to this infringement of its colonial policy. The ordinance was repealed on July 23, while Du Chilleau was recalled and a more obedient governor was sent in his place.<sup>66</sup> The quickness with which American trade responded to any favorable turn in commercial regulations governing the island was shown by the rapid increase of American shipping in Santo Domingan ports and the glutting of the Santo Domingan market with American produce immediately upon receipt of the news of the extensions granted by Du Chilleau.<sup>67</sup>

A similar attempt was made in the summer of 1790 to secure freedom of trade, this time by the General Assembly. Two laws passed in July abolished the free port system as tending to monopoly and established almost complete free trade. But factions had already developed among the

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>63</sup> *The Pennsylvania Packet*, July 7, 1789.

<sup>64</sup> Mills, *op. cit.*, 40.

<sup>65</sup> Schöne, *op. cit.*, 256.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>67</sup> *The Pennsylvania Packet*, January 22, 1790.

colonists and this action by the General Assembly representing the smaller planters and the poor whites of the West and South of French Santo Domingo, met with the opposition of the wealthy merchants and the great planters of Cap Français in the North, who already began to see that their salvation lay in clinging to the old régime, despite the restraints it imposed upon them. The attempt, therefore, proved a failure with practically no effect upon trade conditions.<sup>68</sup>

That the American government was as ready as the French colonists to take advantage of the disturbed conditions in the island to secure an increase in trade privileges is shown by the sending of Mr. Bourne in June, 1790, as American consul to Cap Français to look after American interests there.<sup>69</sup> The French government considered this a "forced interpretation" of the consular convention of 1788, which had defined the rights and privileges of the consuls of each nation in the territories of the other, and refused to recognize Mr. Bourne.<sup>70</sup> But the Provincial Assembly of the North, exceeding the authority of a colonial legislature, granted him an exequatur and he thereupon assumed both the title and function of an American consul.

Attempts were also made to secure a new commercial treaty which should grant to the Americans the freedom of trade in the French West Indies which they so much desired.<sup>71</sup> The bases proposed for such a treaty by the United States included among other provisions, the opening of all the ports in the possessions of either nation to the other and permission to American vessels to export to the French colonies American produce, including fish, and to import from the French colonies colonial produce sufficient for American consumption.<sup>72</sup> Ternant, French minister to the United States from August, 1791, to May, 1793, failed to make a treaty on this basis. His successor,

<sup>68</sup> Mills, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

<sup>69</sup> Lipscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, viii, 186.

<sup>70</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 64.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 57-59.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 111.

Genet, was given instructions to accept the American proposals for a commercial treaty, provided that he found himself unable to form a still closer alliance which should exchange political as well as commercial advantages.<sup>73</sup> There was one provision on which he was to insist, that a guarantee by the United States of French possession of the French West India islands should be a *sine qua non* of freedom of trade with the islands.<sup>74</sup> Even a commercial treaty proved impossible to execute and Genet's successors were no more successful than himself.

The United States, however, by the outbreak of the war between France and England in 1793, reaped temporarily all the advantages of the most favorable treaty. In February of that year France was compelled in order to keep her colonies from starvation, to throw open their ports to American trade on American terms.<sup>75</sup> The effect was to place practically all of the Santo Domingan trade in American hands, including even the trade between the island and Europe.<sup>76</sup>

The first step toward a closer union between Santo Domingo and the United States was taken by the French colonists in the summer of 1791. The revolutionary movement which had its beginning in the latent unrest of the Santo Domingan creoles, became active in 1790. The history of that year is the record of a confused struggle of faction against faction among the whites, who united only long enough to crush the mulatto uprisings which threatened white supremacy; but in 1791 one great fact and one great event loom up big with the portent of coming evil. For in that year the revolutionary spirit penetrated to the masses of savage ill-treated slaves and acted as a leaven in turning them against their masters who had so long exploited their labor. Previous attempts by the negro slaves to regain their freedom had been repressed but divisions

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 204.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 209.

<sup>75</sup> *Actes et Mémoires concernant les Négociations, qui ont eu lieu entre la France et les États-Unis de l'Amérique, depuis 1793, jusqu'à la Conclusion de la Convention du 30 Septembre, 1800*, i, 15-16.

<sup>76</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 566.

among the whites had so weakened the government that the success of the slaves was but a question of time. On the night of the twenty-second of August the revolt broke out in the great North Plain surrounding Cap François, which lighted that fertile plain with the light of burning plantations and left it a scarred wilderness.<sup>77</sup>

The danger to Cap François, the metropolis of Santo Domingo, was great. Even with the refugees from the Plain, the city could not have had more than ten thousand whites, part of whom were foreigners, while the city rabble, greedy for plunder, could not be depended upon. But there were in addition in the city not less than fourteen hundred mulattoes and from ten to twelve thousand negro slaves ready at any moment to throw off their allegiance to their masters and join the revolt.<sup>78</sup> The case seemed desperate. France was far away and a Royalist governor might well have doubted the willingness of the National Assembly to grant him aid. It seemed wiser to the Vicomte de Blanchelande, the governor, and to the General Assembly of Santo Domingo to make their appeal for help to the English islands and to the United States. Even Martinique was not informed of the danger confronting her sister colony.<sup>79</sup>

The day following the negro insurrection, letters were written to the Congress and the President of the United States recalling the ancient friendship existing between the two countries, describing the horrors of the insurrection, and asking for men, munitions of war and food.<sup>80</sup> These letters were entrusted to M. Roustan, a member of the General Assembly, who sailed immediately for the United States, reaching Philadelphia about the middle of September.<sup>81</sup> He was followed a month later by two more deputies, MM. de Beauvois and Payan, who continued

<sup>77</sup> The best account in English of the events of this period is to be found in Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*.

<sup>78</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 132.

<sup>79</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 81.

<sup>80</sup> Tarbé, *Pièces Justificatives du rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*, contains, Nos. XII and XIII., the text of these letters.

<sup>81</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 45. *The General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Sept. 21, 1791.



to represent the General Assembly until the summer of 1792.<sup>82</sup> A special deputy was sent to the state of South Carolina, who eventually succeeded in obtaining £3000 from the state legislature but was unable to enlist a company of men for Santo Domingan service as he desired.<sup>83</sup>

So contagious did the habit of sending delegates become, that even the republican South, presumably in close harmony with the French National Assembly, in 1792 appointed "commissioners near the United States, giving them full power to treat for supplies and a considerable loan, as surety for which they were charged to offer drafts on the national treasury of France, and in case this kind of payment should not be acceptable, they were authorized to propose the hypothecation of the whole territory of the province of the South."<sup>84</sup>

There was a prompt response in the United States to M. Roustan's appeal for help. Both the president and the secretary of state were away when he reached Philadelphia, but the Pennsylvania legislature immediately took the matter under advisement and a motion was carried on September 21: "that taking into consideration the distressed and wretched situation of the inhabitants of Cap Français, then closely besieged by an enraged and brutal multitude of negroes, the House of Representatives as men enjoying the blessings of peace and as citizens of the world being bound to relieve their fellow creatures in an hour of such terror and misery, which will not admit of any delay" should make arrangements to send two vessels with provisions to Cap Français.<sup>85</sup> This action was rendered unnecessary by the energetic steps taken by the general government but it shows the spirit in which the news of the disaster at Cap Français was received by the American people.

Roustan's reception by the French minister, Ternant,

<sup>82</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 72, 147.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 80, 86.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 101.

<sup>85</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1897, 491, in a letter from Phineas Bond to Lord Granville, October 2, 1791.

was much less cordial. Ternant felt that an appeal for help from a colony should have been made to the French minister and not to the American government. A direct appeal savored of independence and for that reason he was most insistent upon his own prerogatives. He objected to the delivery of the letters written to the President and Congress but was unable to prevent it.<sup>86</sup> He objected to certain expressions used in those letters, such as "relations which have long existed between these States and Santo Domingo," "fraternal attachment," "the credentials with which M. Roustan has been supplied;" and he objected to Roustan's assumption of the title of "deputy of the colony of Santo Domingo near the United States."<sup>87</sup> His determined opposition to any independent action on the part of the Santo Domingan representatives was based on the feeling that in view of "the proximity of the United States, the spirit of enterprise which reigns here and the rôle which these States have been called upon to play, it would be dangerous to allow the introduction of the custom of direct negotiations with the richest and most important of our colonies."<sup>88</sup>

Fortunately for Ternant, he had the support of Jefferson, then secretary of state, who was quite as anxious as the French minister to avoid any cause of trouble between the United States and France and who frowned on any movement looking toward independence in Santo Domingo. As early as July, 1791, he had drafted a letter to William Short, American chargé d'affaires at Paris, saying: "*whatever jealousies are expressed as to any supposed views of ours on the dominion of the West Indies, you cannot go farther than the truth in asserting we have none. If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest.*"<sup>89</sup> Other members of the government held the same opinion, that, if Santo Domingo obtained its inde-

<sup>86</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 77.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 46, 50.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 47.

<sup>89</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, v, 363-364.

pendence, it would be too weak to maintain it and must of necessity fall under the control or at least under the influence of England. Its commerce would then be absorbed by that country. As greater commercial advantages were to be expected from the colony under French control than under English, and as trade was the most important factor to be considered in dealing with Santo Domingo, independence with a probability of English absorption could not be encouraged by American statesmen.<sup>90</sup>

Though the newspapers reported the Santo Domingan deputies anxious for independence, Jefferson, who conversed freely with them, found them "as far from these views as any persons on earth." He told them in the course of a conversation with them, that, while the United States wished to do everything for a neighbor with whom it had so many "common points of union" in matters of commerce, nothing could be done that would be disagreeable to France and that concert with M. de Ternant was essential in any application to the American government. He also expressed to them his fear that the island might fall under the control of some other power than that of France.<sup>91</sup> Whether the Santo Domingans had expected to deal directly with the American government or not, Jefferson's attitude, supported as it was by the other members of the cabinet and influential members of Congress effectually put an end to any hope of assistance from the United States in rebellion against France.

Having settled the question of independent action by the Santo Domingan deputies, the next step was to satisfy their demands. Ternant had less than thirty thousand dollars on hand when Roustan reached Philadelphia, a mere drop in the bucket.<sup>92</sup> Recourse to France was impossible for revolutionary finances permitted no draft upon them by the American minister. A little later, in May 1795, Fauchet wrote that for more than two years the administra-

<sup>90</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 74-75.

<sup>91</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, v, 315-316.

<sup>92</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 47.

tion in Santo Domingo had not received a cent from the mother country.<sup>93</sup>

The pressing urgency of the needs of the colony determined Ternant to make use of the only ample financial resource at hand, the debt which the United States still owed to France. Of the nearly fifty-three million livres which France had loaned, less than two million and a half had been repaid by the United States during the Critical Period and there were seven years of arrearages on which Ternant might count.<sup>94</sup>

His first request was met with encouraging promptness. Washington forwarded the authorization for the payment from Mount Vernon immediately upon receipt of his letter.<sup>95</sup> Forty thousand dollars was placed to his credit in the Treasury and a thousand stands of arms and other military stores were furnished to him from West Point.<sup>96</sup> But before these supplies could reach Santo Domingo, MM. de Beauvois and Payan had arrived in Philadelphia with still heavier demands for "8000 fusils & bayonets, 2000 mousquators, 3000 pistols, 3000 sabres, 24,000 barrels of flour, 400,000 worth of Indian meal, rice, peas & hay, & a large quantity of plank, etc., to repair the buildings destroyed."<sup>97</sup>

This was just a beginning of the demands made upon Ternant to relieve the necessities of the French colony. In March, 1792, the colonial administration requested \$400,000 for its use.<sup>98</sup> This was obtained by Ternant,<sup>99</sup> thanks to the willingness of Hamilton, who replied: "Our pecuniary resources are extremely limited; but *we can, to be sure, do something* if circumstances require; and in case of demands on your part you can count on my doing everything to comply with the views of your government."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 691.

<sup>94</sup> *American State Papers. Foreign Relations*, ii, 171.

<sup>95</sup> Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, x, 194.

<sup>96</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, v, 395.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 395.

<sup>98</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 89-90.

<sup>99</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of Hamilton*, iv, 216.

<sup>100</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 98.

In June, 1792, a decree of the National Assembly provided for the use of four million livres of the American debt to satisfy the needs of Santo Domingo. News of this decree was "sent to the government of St. Domingo, communicated by them to the Minister here, & by him" to the American government.<sup>101</sup> No direct communication in regard to this decree was received from the French government either by the French minister or the American administration. The need of the colony was so great, however, that in January, 1793, despite the informality of the notification, both parties agreed to accept the decree and arrangements were made for paying over the sum appointed.<sup>102</sup>

To add to Ternant's embarrassment and to increase the heavy drafts made upon his financial resources, provisions were continually being bought by the Santo Domingan government from American merchants in the island, without consultation with Ternant, and paid for in drafts on the French consul in Philadelphia. Payment on these drafts was several times suspended,<sup>103</sup> but the necessity of preserving French credit and of preventing outbursts of discontent from the American merchants compelled Ternant to strain every nerve to meet the demands of these creditors.<sup>104</sup>

Ternant's motives in thus yielding to the colonial demands are fully explained in his correspondence with the home office. He was destitute of instructions, receiving, during his almost two years in office, no word of advice or instruction as to the course he should pursue in regard to Santo Domingo and no authorization for any of the steps he did take.<sup>105</sup> Compelled to act on his own initiative, he was placed in a most embarrassing position. He would be blamed if he did too much and he would be just as surely blamed if he did too little. A too lavish supply of muni-

<sup>101</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, vi, 151.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 161-162.

<sup>103</sup> *The General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, August 14, 1792; November 26, 1792; January 21, 1793.

<sup>104</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 142.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 172.

tions and supplies might be used against the mother country and enable the colony to gain its independence. In October, 1791, he wrote that demands had been made for loans, munitions and food sufficient to put twenty thousand troops in arms.<sup>106</sup> He was also unwilling to encourage trade between the French colony and the continent from a fear that France could not in such a case resume her commercial supremacy at the conclusion of peace. On the other hand the needs of the Santo Domingan government were urgent and a loss of the island through his failure to support it would not be forgotten. And further, if he refused supplies, he could not be sure that the American government would not enter into direct relations with the colony, supplying what he refused.<sup>107</sup> Perplexed as to what was best to do, Ternant wrote again and again to France, imploring instructions, and in the meantime yielded, though as sparingly as possible, to the colonial demands.

As to the American attitude, Jefferson at first, fearful lest Santo Domingo should become disgusted with both France and the United States and should begin to coquette with England, acted as mediator between the colonists and the minister. He urged the deputies to be satisfied with moderate supplies which would keep them from real distress and he stirred up Ternant "to go beyond their absolute wants of the moment, so far as to keep them in good humor."<sup>108</sup>

As time went on, the United States became less willing to furnish aid to Santo Domingo, partly as Jefferson wrote to La Fayette, "lest your government should feel any jealousy on our account,"<sup>109</sup> and partly from a feeling of uncertainty as to whether the French government would recognize as a satisfactory fulfillment of American obligations payments made with no formal authorization from France. Hamilton, in particular, who felt a profound

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 82.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 78.

<sup>108</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, v, 396.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 79.

distrust for the revolutionary movement, wished to do as little as possible but realized that humanity and friendship demanded that the colony be preserved from destruction by famine.<sup>110</sup>

Despite the hesitation of the American government, the arrearages of the French debt were paid off by 1793. Genet, upon his entrance into office, at once asked for an anticipation in payment of the rest of the debt, amounting to \$2,300,000 but his request was refused.<sup>111</sup> His successor, Fauchet, was more successful in dealing with the American government and by 1795 the debt was discharged in its entirety.<sup>112</sup> Without this financial assistance from the United States it would have been almost, if not quite, impossible for the French administration to have sustained itself in Santo Domingo during the early days of the revolution.

Of military assistance, such as that rendered during the American Revolution by the volunteer troops brought over from Santo Domingo by the Comte d'Estaing to aid in the siege of Savannah,<sup>113</sup> there was none. Polony's attempt to raise troops in South Carolina was met with refusal by the state government.<sup>114</sup> But American residents in the island took an active part in the struggle. Americans were to be found in the scouting parties and expeditionary forces sent against the revolting negroes. Not only resident merchants but crews temporarily in port were called on to defend the French cities.<sup>115</sup> In Cap Français a guard house was assigned to the American colony where they kept guard nightly, for almost two years after the first negro insurrection.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Lodge, *Works of Hamilton*, iv, 363-364.

<sup>111</sup> Hildreth, *History of the United States of America*, iv, 420. *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 873.

<sup>112</sup> Bayley, *History of the National Loans of the United States*, 393-395.

<sup>113</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description de la Partie Française de Saint Domingue*, i, 321.

<sup>114</sup> Garran-Coulon, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, ii, 239.

<sup>115</sup> *The General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, September 21, 1791; October 10, 1791; April 8, 1793.

<sup>116</sup> Perkins, *Reminiscences of the Insurrection in St. Domingo*, 29, n.

But the aid given by the Americans in this way was probably more than neutralized by the assistance given to the blacks. The leader of the mulatto insurrection of October, 1790, Ogé, a young mulatto who received his inspiration from the society of the "Amis des Noirs" in Paris, convinced that he was to be the savior of his caste, laid his plans for revolt in Paris but was unable to obtain arms and supplies in France, from fear of having his plans detected. Following the advice of his French friends, he set sail for Santo Domingo by the round-about route of England and America. In the United States he seems to have experienced no difficulty in securing the necessary equipment while an American vessel landed him in Santo Domingo to suffer the fate of the unsuccessful rebel.<sup>117</sup>

When the negro insurrection broke out in the following year, it was at first supposed that the negroes were making use of the arms brought over by Ogé, but Bryan Edwards, looking at the matter from the slave-owner's point of view, states: "it grieves me to add that the rebels were afterwards abundantly supplied, by small vessels of North America; the masters of which felt no scruple to receive in payment sugar and rum, from the estates of which the owners had been murdered by the men with whom they trafficked."<sup>118</sup> This contraband trade continued despite the efforts of the French to prevent it, and to it with its great increase under Toussaint Louverture, they attributed in large part the loss of their colony.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE SANTO DOMINGAN REFUGEES IN THE UNITED STATES

One of the most difficult of the problems, which confronted the French ministers in the United States during the early days of the French Revolution, was that of dealing with the refugees who fled from the island to the greater safety of the American continent. Already habituated

<sup>117</sup> Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the French Colony of San Domingo*, 67.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.



to the voyage because of its shortness and the large number of vessels constantly plying between the United States and Santo Domingo, at the first outbreak of revolutionary disturbances, the French planters began the migration which was eventually to transfer to the United States a large proportion of the inhabitants of Santo Domingo, who did not perish on that ill-fated island.

Small at first, the immigration to the American continent increased rapidly. As early as October, 1791, Ternant, at Philadelphia, refers to the great number of refugees from Santo Domingo to be found in the United States.<sup>119</sup> In May, 1792, he wrote that the immigration was becoming more considerable than ever. "There are actually more than two hundred families of Santo Domingo in Philadelphia alone; and I find by my correspondence with other cities of the continent, that our Creoles are there in as great numbers as here."<sup>120</sup> Men of wealth disposed "of the wrecks of their fortunes to buy lands and form establishments in the United States."<sup>121</sup>

In the spring of 1793 an epidemic of "ill health" swept over Cap Français, judging from the advertisements in the *Moniteur Général*, compelling its inhabitants to seek a safer climate in "New England."<sup>122</sup> It was about this time, too, that the Civil Commissioners formed the habit of deporting to the United States such royalists as were a source of danger in the island but whom it was not advisable to send to the guillotine.<sup>123</sup> Jefferson, writing of the prospective arrival of four hundred of these "aristocrats and monarchs," expresses the wish that they might be distributed "among the Indians who would teach them lessons of liberty and equality."<sup>124</sup>

But the numbers who had already arrived in the United

<sup>119</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 63.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 127.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 127.

<sup>122</sup> *Moniteur Général de la partie française de Saint-Domingue*, the leading newspaper in Cap Français during the early nineties. The American Antiquarian Society has a file covering from February to June, 1793.

<sup>123</sup> Garran-Coulon *op. cit.*, iii, 359.

<sup>124</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, vi, 268.

States were nothing compared to the flood of immigrants who sought the safety of American soil at the fall of Cap Français. The French Jacobins, in their wild rage at everything that savored of aristocracy, had sent over three Civil Commissioners to instil the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality among the slaves of their fairest colony. Of these three, the leader, Sonthonax, who represented French Republicanism gone mad, was destined to complete the destruction of that colony which had already fared so disastrously at the hands of the Revolution. To Sonthonax there was not only an aristocracy of blood but an aristocracy of skin, and his hatred of the creoles of Santo Domingo because of their white skins manifested itself in his despotic government.<sup>125</sup>

In June, 1793, Cap Français made one last despairing effort to shake off this hated control of Sonthonax and his mulatto troops but when Sonthonax called to his aid the savage negro hordes who had devastated the great plain surrounding the city, Cap Français realized that her doom had been sealed and her citizens and soldiers crowded into the French squadron and the scores of American vessels which filled the harbor and set sail for the United States as a land of refuge.<sup>126</sup> In all, ten thousand refugees are said to have sailed from Cap Français on the morning of the twenty-second of June, 1793,<sup>127</sup> most of them turning directly to the American coast.

The voyage was a hard one at best; but in too many instances American captains were accused of plundering their unfortunate passengers or of turning them over to the tender mercies of pirates;<sup>128</sup> while the Anglo-French war rendered the vessels liable to visit and search by British privateers, who took from the refugees their slaves and the few possessions which they had managed to save.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>125</sup> The best account of the events leading up to the fall of Cap Français is to be found in Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*.

<sup>126</sup> A graphic description of the last few days in Cap Français and the condition of the refugees as the fleet left the harbor is given by Perkins, *Reminiscences of the Insurrection in St. Domingo*.

<sup>127</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 220.

<sup>128</sup> *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, August 13, 1793.

<sup>129</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.*, 20-21.

It was early in July when the first of the fleet reached Norfolk. The condition of the French was most pitiable, many of them wounded and ill, without money or clothing, and without credit to purchase any of the things needful. They met with a very hospitable reception among the American people, though it must have taxed severely the resources of the young nation, by no means rich, to care for the hundreds of aliens who poured in upon them. States, cities and individuals contributed to their support. The legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and even Massachusetts which was too far away to receive many of the immigrants, voted money for their relief.<sup>130</sup> Subscriptions were opened in towns and villages and hundreds of dollars were raised.<sup>131</sup> Buildings of all sorts were converted into hospitals and inns.

Norfolk remained a favorite spot with the creoles because of its climate, its generous hospitality and its congenial atmosphere for slave-owners,<sup>132</sup> but an effort was made to distribute the refugees as widely as possible so that the burden might not fall too heavily on any one section. Philadelphia was a popular refuge, a veritable "ark of Noah" for all French exiles. To the first call for help it responded with a subscription of \$11,000 and for four years it continued its gifts, to the French refugees.<sup>133</sup> An idea of the directions in which this money was expended may be gained from the proposal of the committee that it should spend \$4000 in sending two hundred refugees to France, \$3000 in sending one hundred and fifty back to Santo Domingo, \$800 in employing one hundred mechanics for one month, \$4400 in settling two hundred in the west, and \$900 to widows;<sup>134</sup> while the manner of distributing relief may be judged from an advertisement appearing in the *General Advertiser* of Philadelphia for April 2, 1794, to the "DISTRESSED INHABITANTS

<sup>130</sup> Dalmas, *Histoire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*, 215.

<sup>131</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique* 1793-1798, 55.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>133</sup> Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, i, 470.

<sup>134</sup> McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, ii, 125, n.

of St. Domingo, now in Philadelphia," informing them that "the distribution of the money allotted to them, will be made THIS DAY at the South West corner of Walnut and Water streets, from nine o'clock until noon, and from three to five in the afternoon." In February 1795, \$2500 was distributed among the refugees, and \$1000 in January 1796 and again in January 1797.<sup>135</sup> New York was almost as popular as Philadelphia because of its political importance. There an effort was made to turn the immigration to the economic advantage of the state. Farms were given to the refugees who were provided with free transportation, ploughs, tools and five months' provisions.<sup>136</sup>

But Baltimore seems to have had the heaviest burden to bear. Three thousand refugees landed in that city, of whom half needed assistance. In a letter to Genet, the French minister, written July 14, the Baltimore committee reported that \$13,000 had been raised in addition to the aid given by private hospitality but the expense was too heavy to be borne by the city alone. To this request for help Genet replied with a gift of \$2000 from his own purse, though he gave it grudgingly because no distinction was made, in the distribution of aid, between royalists and republicans.<sup>137</sup> The problem continued to be a pressing one. Six months later the city appealed to the state legislature which, after much debate, appropriated \$500 a week from December 1, 1793, to February 2, 1794.<sup>138</sup>

Immediately thereafter an appeal was made to Congress. The petition presented by Mr. Samuel Smith of Baltimore, aroused a lively debate, the Virginian Republicans under the leadership of Madison opposing this act of national charity as unconstitutional.<sup>139</sup> Despite their opposition, however, the indiscriminate sympathy for all things French which characterized the American people at that time carried the day and \$15,000 was voted for the relief of the

<sup>135</sup> Scharf and Westcott, *op. cit.*, i, 470, n.

<sup>136</sup> McMaster, *op. cit.*, ii, 125.

<sup>137</sup> *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, July 31, 1793.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, December 5, 1793.

<sup>139</sup> Benton, *Abridgments of the Debates in Congress*, ii, 462-463, 474-475.

Santo Domingans with the provision that, if possible, repayment of the sum should be secured from the French government.<sup>140</sup>

To Genet the coming of these colonists was anything but welcome. Belonging as he did to the most radical wing of the republican party, he looked with aversion at this throng of refugees whom Adet described as being characterized "by one common sentiment, hatred of the Republic."<sup>141</sup> They added much to his financial embarrassment; for, while he tried to restrict his aid to French patriots, public opinion demanded aid for all regardless of shades of belief, and he was forced to make certain concessions. In addition, the fleet had to be repaired and its two thousand sailors had to be fed, while France and Santo Domingo still looked to the United States for a large proportion of their food supplies.<sup>142</sup> Complaints of these heavy demands upon their financial resources are constant in the correspondence of Genet and his successors.

More embarrassing even than the financial burden were the difficulties created by the refugees for the French minister in his dealings with the American government. His instructions had directed him "to cause the principle of the French revolution to germinate in Louisiana, in Kentucky and in the other provinces which border on the United States."<sup>143</sup> The Franco-American alliance which he was to make as close as possible, was "to free Spanish America, to open to the inhabitants of Kentucky the navigation of the Mississippi, to deliver our brothers of Louisiana from the tyrannical yoke of Spain, and perhaps to unite to the American Constellation the beautiful star

<sup>140</sup> A package among the miscellaneous papers in the archives of the State Department, entitled *Distressed Emigrants from San Domingo, 1794*, contains the estimates made for the Secretary of the Treasury of the number of indigent exiles in each state and the amount of money needed for their support. The estimate, made before investigation, placed the number of refugees throughout the country in need of assistance at two thousand.

<sup>141</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 871.

<sup>142</sup> Hildreth, *op. cit.*, iv, 439.

<sup>143</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 201.

of Canada.”<sup>144</sup> Genet entered upon his task with a zeal untempered by wisdom. Landing at Charleston, South Carolina, he had already, before reaching Philadelphia begun the enlistment of men in the southern states and had gotten into touch with General Clark in Kentucky.

Genet's first thought on learning of the arrival of the Santo Domingan squadron which had been stationed in the waters around the island and which had assisted in bringing the refugees from Cap Français to the United States, in American waters was that he might make use of it to further these ambitious plans upon which he had already entered. On the second of August he broached his great scheme to the minister of foreign affairs. He proposed sending the fleet first to Newfoundland to destroy the fisheries there and six hundred fishing vessels, to recapture St. Pierre and Miquelon, to capture the rich convoy just starting for Hudson Bay, to burn Halifax and to sound the Acadians as to their willingness to revolt to France. From there the fleet was to sail south, taking on board a corps of French and American volunteers in Virginia, capture the island of Providence, the nest of the English corsairs, and proceed to New Orleans to unite with Clark's expedition from Kentucky in the capture of that city.<sup>145</sup> In October he was still working on this plan, hoping to put it into execution,<sup>146</sup> but the fleet refused to take any part in the expedition and Genet's ambitious schemes accomplished little beyond discrediting himself.

The failure of the fleet to support Genet was due to its lack of sympathy with radical republicanism and to the plots and counterplots of Genet and the refugee leaders which added zest to the minister's life and not infrequently disturbed the public peace. Soon after the fleet reached Chesapeake Bay, Genet ordered it to New York where it would be under his immediate control in an atmosphere less congenial to counter-revolutionary movements. But

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 204.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 234.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 265.

though he spoke of the sailors as "good Citizens and disposed to serve their Country well, provided one speaks to them neither of Santo Domingo nor of the Commissioners nor of men of color nor of negroes,"<sup>147</sup> he found that the spirit of disaffection was hard to eradicate.

Immediately upon arriving in the United States a far-reaching plot was concocted by the leaders of the French refugees to return to Santo Domingo, drive out the Commissioners, and establish in the island a stronghold for the reactionary party.<sup>148</sup> Galbaud, a moderate republican who had been appointed governor-general of Santo Domingo because of his military ability but who had found the rule of the Commissioners unbearable and had led the exodus from Cap Français, was won over to the plot. Two thousand colonists scattered along the coast of the United States were enlisted in the enterprise, and it was hoped that the entire fleet would take part in such an expedition.

Genet learned of the plot late in August. He had caused the arrest, under New York state laws, of two of the leaders of the refugees, Tanguy-la-Boissière and Breton-Villandry. They were rescued from the hands of the constable by their friends but their papers giving the details of the conspiracy were turned over by Governor Clinton to the French minister.<sup>149</sup> Prompt action by Genet prevented the carrying out of the plot. The fleet was reduced to obedience, the crews being weeded of their most disaffected members, but Genet's own plans were checked quite as certainly as those of the counter-revolutionists.

The discovery of the plot led to the flight of Galbaud, who still retained the title of Governor-General of Santo Domingo, into Canada. This distinguished general was pursued out of the city by a writ calling for his arrest as a deserting sailor,<sup>150</sup> and he escaped arrest only because the inhabitants of East Clinton, a village, just out of New

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 239.

<sup>148</sup> *The New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, September 18, 1793.

<sup>149</sup> Garran-Coulon, iv, 368. *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire des colonies*, i, 12-13.

<sup>150</sup> *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire des colonies*, iv, 133.

York where an attempt was made to arrest him, were opposed to its execution.<sup>151</sup> At the same time about a hundred sailors started, armed, to follow Galbaud who had given Philadelphia as his destination and Genet had to make use of troops and cannon before he could secure their arrest.<sup>152</sup> A letter written by one of these sailors throws an interesting light on the relation of the French officials toward the Government of the United States, even though the authenticity of the letter may well be doubted.

We have forgotten to say, that, before we went to prison, General Washington, learning of the violence which had been committed by the French minister on American soil, where M. Genet had neither authority nor power, had sent a letter to the judge, to release us; but the French consul, who believed everything was permissible to a minister so audacious as M. Genet, caused the messenger to be arrested, and the letter to be taken from him and destroyed, and we were conducted to prison along with the bearer of the letter.<sup>153</sup>

Genet seems to have exercised almost arbitrary power over the refugees in the state of New York, thanks to the support given him by Governor Clinton, who was quite as radical as the Frenchman himself in his republicanism and who stretched the laws of New York to the breaking-point to aid Genet against the counter-revolutionists.<sup>154</sup> But he found the Federal Government less complaisant and less ready to grant the preposterous demands made upon it which must have tried even Jefferson's French-loving soul. Of the eight letters which the French minister wrote to the secretary of state between the fourth of August and the fourth of October, 1793, demanding privileges not usually accorded to the representative of a foreign government, only one was answered in such a way as to give him any satisfaction.<sup>155</sup>

Genet first demanded Federal writs for the apprehension of Galbaud and Tanguy, after his failure to arrest them in New York, because of the crimes they had already com-

<sup>151</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, iv, 370.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 427.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 368.

<sup>154</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 278.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 871.



mitted and were plotting to commit against France; and he considered it a grievance that Jefferson answered him that "the laws of this country take no notice of crimes committed out of their jurisdiction."<sup>156</sup> When he complained to the secretary of state that the refugees in great numbers were joining the English in their attempt to conquer Santo Domingo from the French and requested that steps be taken to prevent the departure of Frenchmen to Môle Saint-Nicolas and the other ports occupied by the English, he was informed that no military expedition should be allowed to set out from the United States but the departure of individuals could not be interfered with. His further blandly insolent suggestion that American ships of war should be instructed to prevent the departure of any vessel from the United States for Santo Domingo without a passport signed by himself, was dismissed with the statement that it "is so far beyond the power of the Executive, that it will be unnecessary to enumerate the objections to which it would be liable."<sup>157</sup>

One further illustration might be given of the French attempt to dictate American policy, arising out of the presence of the French refugees in the United States. In October, 1793, Moissonier, French consul at Baltimore, wrote to General Lee, the governor of Maryland, that an English attack on Chesapeake Bay was imminent and that measures should be taken for the defence of the French convoy there. He continued:

The indifference of this state cannot exist as to our interests. This bay contains the riches of our commerce of St. Domingo, and the only hope of the French nation. We shall become infallibly the first victims of this carelessness, if I am not able to obtain from you, sir, that the forts which defend the entrance of the Chesapeake be put in condition.

In the meanwhile, and in pursuance of the orders of the minister, I am going to collect all the maritime forces which the republic has in this bay, to form a vanguard sufficiently formidable, and to derange, if it be possible, the projects of our common enemy.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>156</sup> *American State Papers. Foreign Relations*, i, 171.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 188.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 182.

That Genet's rupture with the American government was bound to come, is certain from the character of the man, but the presence of this turbulent element of Santo Domingo refugees undoubtedly added to his difficulties and furnished new grounds of trouble between him and the American government. Quarrels among the French often disturbed the public peace and necessitated the interference of the authorities. Hauterive, French consul at New York, was compelled to call in the police to protect him in his own rooms from certain of the refugees.<sup>159</sup> A similar attack was made on Genet,<sup>160</sup> and he wrote to Jefferson that the individual safety of the French consuls at Baltimore and Charleston was being threatened and complained that little activity was being shown in protecting them.<sup>161</sup> The arrival of a delegation of whites, mulattoes and blacks bound from Santo Domingo to France was the occasion of a riot. Not until Consul Bournonville had called out the police, were they permitted to land, and even then they lost their packets and most of their effects.<sup>162</sup>

Almost as disturbing of public order were the fêtes which were celebrated by French and Americans with great frequency and enthusiasm. Salvos of cannon, patriotic speeches, parades and fraternal embraces characterized these celebrations which the refugees were compelled to enter into with the greater spirit because they were under the suspicion of being reactionary.<sup>163</sup> Adet later refers to the unfavorable impression made by these fêtes upon the American people, who were accustomed to speak "of their triumphs and their defeats, of their hopes and their fears with the same indifference."<sup>164</sup>

Societies were formed among the refugees in the principal

<sup>159</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, 380-381.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 427.

<sup>161</sup> *Actes et Mémoires concernant les Négociations qui ont eu lieu entre la France et les États-Unis de l'Amérique, depuis 1793, jusqu'à la Conclusion de la Convention du 30 Septembre, 1800*, i, 233.

<sup>162</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, iv, 427-433.

<sup>163</sup> *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire des colonies*, iv, 82.

<sup>164</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 770.

cities and public meetings were held. The societies, particularly of Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore, were in close communication chiefly for the exchange of what the French officials considered pernicious opinions and plans.<sup>165</sup> In New York the radical republican element was strong because of the presence there of Genet and the cordial support given him by Governor Clinton, whose daughter he later married. In Philadelphia, the mayor, Matthew Clarkson, was also an ardent Republican<sup>166</sup> but he does not seem to have interfered with the meetings of the French creoles. He did, however, prohibit the wearing of the white cockade, the emblem of the royalists, and he brought pressure to bear upon the priests of the city to prevent the holding of a service in memory of Louis XVI.<sup>167</sup>

A number of French newspapers were printed in the various large cities for creole readers. Most of them were short-lived. The two most important were the *Journal de la Révolution de la Partie Française de Saint-Domingue*, begun by Tanguy-la-Boissière in Santo Domingo and transferred by him to New York; and the *Courrier de la France et ses Colonies* published by Gaterau of Cap Français, an eccentric individual twice exiled from Santo Domingo.<sup>168</sup> Both papers were if not openly counter-revolutionary, at least lukewarm in their republican sentiments.<sup>169</sup> Both were accused of attacks on Genet and of distorting French and Santo Domingan news, and thereby poisoning American public opinion.<sup>170</sup>

The French exiles formed almost a state within a state, having little to do with American affairs, in many cases refusing to learn the English language,<sup>171</sup> associating only

<sup>165</sup> *Conspirations, Trahisons et Calomnies dévoilées et dénoncées par plus de mille Français, Réfugiés au Continent de l'Amérique*, ii, 27, 34.

<sup>166</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, iv, 433.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 449-450.

<sup>168</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, iv, 313. A file of the latter journal is to be found in the library of the Boston Athenaeum.

<sup>169</sup> *Débats entre les accusateurs et les accusés dans l'affaire des colonies*, i, 344.

<sup>170</sup> Garran-Coulon, *op. cit.*, iv, 313.

<sup>171</sup> Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, i, 162.

with their own compatriots, and interested solely in their own intrigues and in events in France and Santo Domingo. The attitude of the American government seems to have been to look with tolerance upon the expression of all shades of opinion among the French, interfering only when absolutely necessary to prevent the overturning of the laws of the country. Just what effect the presence of these refugees had upon American public opinion is difficult to determine but it would seem probable that the turbulence and lawlessness of certain sections of this alien mass must have contributed to turning the more sober-minded of the American people against the excesses of the French Revolution and must have paved the way for the break in cordial relations between France and the United States which occurred just at the end of the eighteenth century.

Immigration from Santo Domingo did not, of course, stop with the fall of Cap Français. The stream was more or less constant until the year 1805 when Dessalines sent forth the decree that the whites should be utterly destroyed in the island of Santo Domingo. Genet's successors complain that the refugees "busy the Agents of the Republic more than do the necessary and essential duties of their positions."<sup>172</sup> Fauchet planned in March, 1794, to rid himself of the expense of supporting the refugees in the United States by offering them a free passage to France<sup>173</sup> and at the end of the year he announced that the last vessel was ready to sail for France, after which no more aid would be given by the French minister to the Santo Domingan colonists.<sup>174</sup> But he still had to meet the problem of granting permission to the creoles to return to Santo Domingo. If he granted permission indiscriminately, many would return to aid the English in wresting the island from France and re-establishing slavery there. If he refused permission to all, he would deprive France of the last hope of regaining control of the colony. As time passed, how-

<sup>172</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 614.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 325.

<sup>174</sup> *The General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, November 22, 1794.

ever, the more turbulent element was drained off, going either to France or Santo Domingo, while those who remained settled down and were absorbed into the mass of the American people.

Their influence was felt, in certain sections at least, upon the economic life of the United States. All the principal Southern cities were affected to a greater or less extent by the incoming of Santo Domingan slave-owners.<sup>175</sup> In Baltimore the wealth and population of the city was increased by the influx of immigrants. The stimulus was seen in the growth of market-gardening, an occupation in which the French engaged.<sup>176</sup> New arts and methods of cultivation were introduced and trade was stimulated by the increase in capital.<sup>177</sup> De Beaujour who visited the United States in the early nineteenth century refers to the refugees of Santo Domingo who "have established in the United States other useful manufactures and have given to industry as to agriculture, a great impulse; the happy effects of their immigration will be felt for a long time in this land."<sup>178</sup>

More spectacular was the effect of the revolutionary movement in Santo Domingo upon the course of slavery sentiment in the Southern United States. Many of the colonists who fled from the French island brought with them their slaves, and other mulattoes and negroes made the journey independently to escape persecution and death. The liveliest apprehension was excited in the minds of the slave-owners that these negroes, settled through the South in Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston and New Orleans, might disseminate among the slaves the revolutionary principles which had wrought such havoc in Santo Domingo.<sup>179</sup> For over thirty years every insurrection among the slaves was attributed to the influence of Santo Domingan negroes.

<sup>175</sup> Drewry, *Slave Insurrections in Virginia*, 118.

<sup>176</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-1798*, 89.

<sup>177</sup> Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, 140.

<sup>178</sup> De Beaujour, *Aperçu des États-Unis au commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 101.

<sup>179</sup> Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 8.

The fear of the Southern planter can be seen in the following news-item:

They write from Charleston (S. C.) that the NEGROES have become very insolent, in so much that the citizens are alarmed, and the militia keep a constant guard. It is said that the St. Domingo negroes have sown those seeds of revolt, and that a magazine has been attempted to be broken open.<sup>180</sup>

Five years later, in the spring of 1798, Charleston was again stirred by the news of a "conspiracy of several French Negroes to fire the City, and to act here as they had formerly done at St. Domingo."<sup>181</sup> The Gabriel Prosser insurrection of 1800 from this same apprehension was attributed to French influence.<sup>182</sup>

It was the fear of a repetition in the Southern States of the scenes which "wrapped in flame and drenched in blood the beautiful island" of Santo Domingo,<sup>183</sup> that dominated the Southern planters and dictated for fifty years the American policy toward Haiti. Fauchet was a true prophet when he saw in 1795 that the negro control of the island of Santo Domingo had established "an eternal seed of repulsion" between the United States and the liberated French colony.<sup>184</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### THE UNITED STATES AND TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

From 1793 when war was declared between France and Great Britain to 1798, when France and the United States broke off friendly relations, the most important question facing the United States in its dealings with the island of Santo Domingo was in regard to its trade with that island. There was no interest in political relations with the French colony. The only desire was to absorb the trade which war with England, the mistress of the seas, had compelled France to forego. And in the main the desire was ful-

<sup>180</sup> *The New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, October 16, 1793.

<sup>181</sup> *St George Chronicle and Grenada Gazette*, February 23, 1798.

<sup>182</sup> Drewry, *op. cit.*, 120. Woodson, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>183</sup> Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, i, 578.

<sup>184</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 565.

filled.<sup>185</sup> France, forced during the period to rely on the United States for a large proportion of its own food supply, was unable to take any steps toward the provisioning of its colonies, while the carrying trade between the French West Indies and Europe also fell into American hands.<sup>186</sup>

But, though the fundamental economic interdependence of the two countries forced the commerce of the French colonies into American avenues of trade, many attempts were made by the two European nations most interested to divert to their own advantage this profitable commerce. England at the end of 1793 made an attempt to end completely American trade with the French West Indies,<sup>187</sup> an attempt which almost brought war with the United States and from which she was compelled to recede. The treaty negotiated by Jay in 1794 was England's pledge that, while she might place annoying restrictions on American trade with the French colonies, she would not again attempt to prohibit it entirely.

The agreement reached by the United States with Great Britain in the Jay Treaty was displeasing to France who had expected active assistance from its former ally or at least a benevolent neutrality hardly to be distinguished from active participation in the war. Disappointed in this expectation and angry because of the failure of the United States to live up to the treaty obligations entered into in 1778 which guaranteed French possession of her West India islands, France entered upon a policy of retaliation which bore hard on the Santo Domingan trade. The lengths to which this policy had gone by 1797 was shown in a letter written by the Commissioners of Santo Domingo to the minister of marine in February of that year:

that having found no resource in finance, and knowing the unfriendly disposition of the Americans, and to avoid perishing in distress, they had armed for cruising; and that already 87 cruizers were at sea; and that for three months preceding, the administration had been enriched, with the product of those prizes. . . . They felicitate themselves that American

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 259, 566.

<sup>186</sup> Adams, *History of the United States of America*, iii, 324.

<sup>187</sup> Hildreth, *op. cit.*, iv, 481.

vessels were daily taken; and declare that they had learnt by divers persons from the continent, that the Americans were perfidious, corrupt, the friends of England, and that therefore their vessels no longer entered the French ports, unless carried in by force.<sup>188</sup>

This suicidal policy was pursued without regard to the interests of the colony and would have been even more disastrous than it was if it had applied beyond the confines of French control. But in the sections held by the English and in the South, where Rigaud, an influential mulatto general, had through negro troops become dominant, American commerce was welcomed and protected.<sup>189</sup>

In America the same feeling that had manifested itself against England in 1794, was aroused against France by these depredations on American commerce. When every attempt at diplomatic action had failed an act was passed, June 13, 1798, suspending commercial relations with France and preparations for war followed.

This event found France incapable of taking any steps in defence of Santo Domingo. The action of the Commissioners in alienating both the whites and the mulattoes from the French cause had brought about the downfall of the white supremacy in the island. Both Spain and England made an attempt to occupy the place left vacant by France, but both were foiled by the character of the country and the genius of the greatest leader whom the negro race has ever produced.

Born a slave, Toussaint Louverture, by his own ability, raised himself to supreme command of the French forces in Santo Domingo by his own initiative, though under the apparent direction of the French officials in the island. Upon his entrance into the French service in 1794, he was given an important command in the French forces. It was largely due to his assistance and that of his negro troops that the Spanish and English were in turn driven from the French part of the island in which they had gotten a foot-

<sup>188</sup> *Actes et Mémoires concernant les Négociations qui ont eu lieu entre la France et les États-Unis de l'Amérique, depuis 1793, jusqu'à la Conclusion de la Convention du 30 Septembre, 1800* iii, 384.

<sup>189</sup> *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, May 27, 1794; January 31, 1797; April 17, 1797.



hold. Having fulfilled both tasks, he next faced the problem of freeing himself from even the semblance of French control. By October, 1798, this was, to all intents and purposes, accomplished. General Hédouville, one of the ablest of the French diplomats, sent by the Directory as a last means of checking the growing power of Toussaint, was expelled by the negro leader from the island. At his departure there remained in the whole island only one French official, Roume, Civil Commissioner for the Spanish part, whom Toussaint soon won over and used as a tool.<sup>100</sup>

In view of the threatened war between France and the United States, and the practical independence of Santo Domingo, the question of the relation of the United States to the French colony was an interesting one. Should the suspension of commercial relations with all the French possessions apply to this colony in revolt? Would the war against France bring an attack upon the island with a view of adding it to American territory? Should Toussaint be encouraged in his course of establishing a black empire in the West Indies? These were some of the problems agitating American statesmen in the summer of 1798.

Various attempts to foreshadow the American policy are to be found in the writings of the nineties. Genet, in October, 1793, prophesied that it was only a question of time until "the islands of America would become what nature wished them to be independent of Europe and under the protection of the people of the continent from which they have been detached."<sup>101</sup>

Fauchet writing in February, 1795, after noting the economic dependence of the colonies upon the United States, added: "The colonies whom war exposes to famine, ought to form the closest relations with a people who from fortnight to fortnight can satisfy their needs. If the French colonies had continued their prosperous increase, there is no doubt that this federation would have been consummated. America favored it."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> This brief résumé of conditions in Santo Domingo is based on Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*.

<sup>101</sup> *Report American Historical Association*, 1903, ii, 259.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 564.

During 1797 and 1798, John Quincy Adams and William Vans Murray, both on diplomatic missions in Europe, frequently recurred in their correspondence to the future of the French West Indies. Adams' favorite proposal was to make them "free and independent, in close alliance and under the guarantee of the United States."<sup>193</sup> In support of this proposal he added:

The natural connection of the West Indies is with the American and not with the European continent, and such a connection as I have in my mind, a more natural connection than that of metropolis and colony, or in other words master and servant. In close alliance, leaving them as to their government totally to themselves, we can protect their independence, furnish them with necessities, and stipulate for the exclusive carriage of their produce.<sup>194</sup>

Murray, on the other hand, proposed that in the war with France which was then threatening, the coöperation of the northern powers, the German states, Sweden and Denmark, should be secured by giving them a "large participation in the West India possessions."<sup>195</sup> "The basis is, that it is to our interest to divide the West Indian colonies, if any are taken by joint means among the *combined* powers. . . . that these *colonies* must fall, if we have a war, and not to the United States certainly, as not being desirable, and as placing us too much on a dependence for their safety on Great Britain, besides the incompatibility of colonies with the genius of both government and nation; that in this view of what will probably happen we might convert what I think the probable conquests to auxiliary purposes, in raising friendships and a coöperation against the enemy on the continent."<sup>196</sup>

That an attack on the French colonies was seriously considered is shown by a letter from Harrison Gray Otis, chairman of the committee on internal defence, to Hamilton, asking; "Shall the President be authorized to attack, capture, and hold all or any of the French West India

<sup>193</sup> Ford, *Writings of Adams*, ii, 336.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 336.

<sup>195</sup> *Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797-1803*, 370.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 384.

islands as an indemnity for the spoliations committed on our trade?"<sup>197</sup> While Hamilton in a memorandum submitted to Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury, had already raised a similar question. "Is not the independence of the French Colonies under the guarantee of the United States to be aimed at? If it is, there cannot be too much promptness in opening negotiations for the purpose."<sup>198</sup> The American policy, however, was not definitely determined until action was forced by the appeal of Toussaint Louverture to President Adams for aid.

Though the French had been expelled from Santo Domingo, Toussaint did not find himself without opposition. The mulattoes, under their able leader, André Rigaud, controlled the South and certain sections of the West Province, while Toussaint and his negro followers did not have complete possession even of the North where their strength lay. Between the mulattoes and negroes there raged and has continued to rage as bitter a feeling of race hatred as either had ever felt against the whites, a feeling which has been the basis of most of the conflicts which have convulsed the island since Toussaint and Rigaud measured their strength in 1799.

Toussaint was overwhelmingly superior in numbers but jealousies among the blacks weakened his strength and the complete lack of necessary provisions and equipment prevented his making an attack upon the mulatto forces. Rigaud's army on the other hand was

well fed, well clothed, and well paid. The uninterrupted trade he has carried on from the South with St. Thomas, the Continent of America, and the Island of Jamaica, has supplied him with Plenty of Provisions, Clotheing, and Ammunition. The arbitrary and oppressive Contributions he has levied from the Inhabitants of the South, and the Application of all the publick Revenue, for several Years past, to his own private Purposes, have given him a great Command of Money. His Infantry are well disciplined, and his Cavalry the best in the Colony.<sup>199</sup>

Toussaint had the advantage of acting nominally as the representative of French authority, through his use of

<sup>197</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of Hamilton*, vi, 378.

<sup>198</sup> Lodge, *Works of Hamilton*, x, 289.

<sup>199</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens, 1798-1800*, 76.

Roume, the Particular Agent. But the French had already seen that it was to their advantage that the island should remain in a state of anarchy until French troops could be sent over to reconquer it. And so, though Rigaud was called a rebel and an outlaw, all the active assistance that the French government could render was given to him.<sup>200</sup>

With the two parties so evenly matched, it would take but little external pressure to swing the balance to either side and for that external pressure Toussaint looked to the United States. England, at war with France, might be expected to assist but Jamaica was too uncomfortably close for the British government to look with any complaisance upon the establishment of a strong negro state in Santo Domingo. The United States was far enough away to feel relatively secure as to its own slaves, it was at war with France and anxious to neutralize the power which France had on this side of the Atlantic, and it had watched with anger the harm inflicted upon its merchant marine by French corsairs who found an abiding place in the harbors of Santo Domingo.

Rigaud might have expected aid from the United States, for he had fought in the siege of Savannah as had many of his mulatto chiefs, and he had protected American commerce at a time when the French commissioners were making the most savage attacks upon it.<sup>201</sup> But he was forced by circumstances to act in harmony with France and independence of France was a *sine qua non* of American assistance.

The American Embargo Act of June 1798, putting an end to all trade with the French possessions, bore with especial hardship upon Toussaint. He had to look to the United States for food and munitions and when the supply of these was in large measure cut off, his army was rendered almost powerless. As long as he was under French control he could do nothing, but just two weeks after General Hédouville's forced departure he took a step which marks the beginning of his rupture with France. On the sixth

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>201</sup> *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, January 31, 1797.

of November, 1798, probably with the concurrence of the American consul, he wrote to President Adams, promising that if commercial relations should be resumed with Santo Domingo, he would assure to the American vessels trading with the island, protection and safety, thereby setting aside the French ordinances in regard to American commerce.<sup>202</sup> It was not so wide a departure from French policy as it might seem, for Hédouville had gone almost as far in his promise to protect American vessels trading with Santo Domingo, even if war should break out between France and the United States;<sup>203</sup> but it was the first step in the formation of an alliance between the negro chief and the American government.

The American policy was outlined by the secretary of state, Timothy Pickering, in a letter to Mayer, American consul at Cap Français, written probably before the receipt of Toussaint's appeal. The most significant portion of the letter read as follows:

You will take notice that the act of Congress of the last session prohibiting intercourse with France and her dominions is limited to places *under the acknowledged power of France*, consequently if the inhabitants of St. Domingo have ceased to acknowledge that power, there will not, as I conceive, be any bar to the prompt and extensive renewal of trade between the United States and the ports of that Island. Our merchants, I understand, are already preparing to renew that commerce, although the intelligence of Hédouville's deposition arrived but yesterday. The putting down all privateers of the island, at least the restraining them from touching Americans, I look for as a natural consequence of the revolution. Good policy doubtless suggests to the Chiefs, and especially to the amiable and respectable Toussaint, the commander in chief, a system of peace towards Great Britain and her dependencies as well as towards the United States.<sup>204</sup>

Toussaint had, in the mean time, already dispatched his personal representative, Bunel, with Mayer, the American consul, to Philadelphia, where they arrived about the

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-67.

<sup>203</sup> Benton, *Abridgments of the Debates in Congress*, ii, 336. *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, May 14, 1798.

<sup>204</sup> State Department Archives. Pickering to Mayer, November 30, 1798.

middle of December, 1798.<sup>205</sup> Negotiations were at once begun and in January a bill was introduced into Congress permitting the president to open by proclamation the Santo Domingan trade whenever depredations upon American commerce should have ceased. After a good deal of discussion, the bill was passed over Republican opposition. Jefferson felt a certain lukewarmness among the Southern congressmen in regard to establishing trade relations with Toussaint's subjects but the opposition seems to have been drawn on party rather than sectional lines. "Even South Carolinians in the H. of R. voted for it."<sup>206</sup>

The chief objections to the bill were that it would aggravate still further our already strained relations with France and that it would tend to make the island independent. The Federalists insisted that all they wanted was to extend trade and to suppress privateering. That Santo Domingo would thereby gain her independence was a matter with which they had no concern. The president was most definite in stating his opinion that "independence is the worst and most dangerous condition they (the West India islands) can be in for the United States."<sup>207</sup> A fair statement of the Federalist position was given by Wolcott in a letter to Samuel Smith:

Nothing appears to have been proposed, discussed or settled, between the British and Toussaint, respecting the independence of the island, and with this question the United States will not interfere. Our object is to gain a trade on safe principles; questions of interior policy and government are to be settled by the people of the island, and others concerned, in their own way. . . . The United States will doubtless be suspected by France of a policy of interference, but they will be suspected unjustly; as before asserted, the object of the United States is to extend their trade and to suppress privateering.<sup>208</sup>

The Federalist leaders probably felt that even if the French colony did throw off its allegiance, the condition would be only temporary and that as soon as the war was

<sup>205</sup> *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, December 20, 1798.

<sup>206</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, vii, 348, 349.

<sup>207</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, viii, 634.

<sup>208</sup> Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, ii, 228.

over, France would at once regain control of her colony. Hamilton seems to have had this in mind, when he wrote:

No committal on the independence of St. Domingo, no guaranty, no formal treaty—*nothing that can rise up in judgment*. It will be enough to let Toussaint be assured verbally, but explicitly, that upon his declaration of independence a commercial intercourse will be opened, &c.<sup>209</sup>

The act was passed February 9, 1799, and ten days later Edward Stevens' name was before the Senate as Consul-General to Santo Domingo.<sup>210</sup> Dr. Stevens was an admirable choice. A native of the West Indies and a relative of Hamilton, he added to native keenness and intelligence a knowledge of West Indian conditions and problems.<sup>211</sup> During his two years' residence in Santo Domingo he exercised considerable influence over Toussaint, while his tact and powers of conciliation were called into play to avert the suspicions of the negro leader, to gain concessions for American shipping, and especially to bring about united action between Toussaint and the English.

Almost at once upon Stevens' arrival in the islands in April, 1799, his instructions to secure the suppression of the privateers of Santo Domingo, the protection of American lives and property and the right of entry into Santo Dominican ports of American vessels both public and private, were carried out, thanks to the eagerness of Toussaint to conciliate the United States.<sup>212</sup> His next task was to put through negotiations granting similar privileges to the English in Santo Domingo.

Steps had already been taken before the departure of Dr. Stevens for Santo Domingo, by Rufus King, the American ambassador in London, to come to an understanding with the English government in regard to negotiations with Toussaint. Coöperation with England was necessary so long as the United States was at war with France and trade privileges with Santo Domingo would be valueless if, in secur-

<sup>209</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of Hamilton*, vi, 395.

<sup>210</sup> Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, vii, 365.

<sup>211</sup> Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*, 289-290.

<sup>212</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens, 1798-1800*, 70.

ing them, the enmity of England was incurred. As Adams said: "They [the English] are so deeply interested that they ought to be consulted, and the cominmerce of the island is not worth to us the risk of any dispute with them."<sup>213</sup>

King found the English cabinet also convinced that concerted action between England and the United States was of the first importance.<sup>214</sup> "It is certain *that Great Britain desires to act with us, and we may be sure of her coopération if we will concur in her Plans. She will even risk something to obtain our concurrence, but she will act without us in case we disagree as to the terms of a joint coopération.*"<sup>215</sup> The English suggestion was that an exclusive company composed of English and Americans be formed to whom should be given the monopoly of the trade with Santo Domingo. But this was not in accordance with American customs and traditions. It was finally agreed that General Maitland and Colonel Grant to whom the English mission had been entrusted, should be left uninstructed but should stop in the United States on their way to Santo Domingo, there to determine upon a course of action in consultation with the members of the American government. The conferences ended with the abandonment of the English proposal and the adoption by the British envoys of the policy already entered upon by the United States.<sup>216</sup>

Toussaint's relations with the English were peculiar. They had come to Santo Domingo at the call of the French colonists to conquer the island and to restore slavery. As a consequence they were hated and feared by the negroes. But Toussaint had seen that, as long as England was at war with France, English influence might be used as a counterpoise to French. Accordingly the terms of evacuation which he granted to the English forces in 1798 were much too easy to meet the approval of General Hédouville.<sup>217</sup> In addition by a secret treaty he granted them extensive rights of trade. But the indiscretion of the British govern-

<sup>213</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, viii, 657.

<sup>214</sup> *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, ii, 502.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 503.

<sup>216</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, viii, 639-640, n.

<sup>217</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 271-273.



ment in publishing this treaty and the comments upon it by the English press had caused Toussaint much embarrassment and had made him rather unwilling to enter into negotiations with the English a second time.<sup>218</sup>

It was indeed dangerous for him to do so, for the report that he was holding conferences with an English general awakened fear on the part of his troops that he was selling the island to the English and shook his power, which was not too securely established.<sup>219</sup> Neither did the English enter whole heartedly into the negotiations. Their fear of a negro insurrection in their own West India islands seems to have been stronger than their desire to deprive France of her colony and they apparently adopted the French policy of preventing either party in Santo Domingo from gaining the ascendancy.

Under these circumstances it required all of Dr. Stevens' powers of conciliation to carry the negotiations through to a successful conclusion. The conferences at Gonaives where Toussaint and General Maitland met were reported as "very stormy."<sup>220</sup> Roume, the French agent, was present merely as a spectator but gave his consent to this act of independence to prevent the colony from perishing of hunger. Neither did Stevens appear as a signatory to the convention, though he was chiefly instrumental in bringing it about and its advantages accrued to the United States as well as to Great Britain. The convention, signed June 13, 1799, included the principal points already agreed upon in Philadelphia; a continued armistice between the three countries, protection from French privateers for English and American merchant vessels, the right of entrance into the ports of Santo Domingo for English and American war vessels, and freedom of trade for their merchant vessels with the island.<sup>221</sup> Dr. Stevens was compelled to act temporarily as British Agent because the suspicions of the negro troops had been aroused to such

<sup>218</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens*, 75.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>220</sup> Ardouin, *Études sur l'Histoire d'Haiti*, iv, 48.

<sup>221</sup> The text of the treaty is to be found in the State Department Archives.

an extent that Toussaint dared not admit an English official into the island.<sup>222</sup>

Before the news of the signing of the convention reached the United States, President Adams issued his proclamation of June 26, 1799, opening to American trade the whole coast of Santo Domingo from Monte Cristi on the north to Petit Goave on the west, excluding the south which was under the control of Rigaud.<sup>223</sup> War had already broken out between the two races and the advantages of Toussaint's policy were at once apparent. His army had been destitute and unable to move because of lack of supplies but munitions of war and food supplies quickly began to flow into the island from Jamaica and the United States.

Still more assistance from the United States was necessary however, if Toussaint was to bring the south into complete subjection. A successful attack upon Rigaud's position at Jacmel was impossible without naval aid to prevent the provisioning of the garrison from the neighboring islands. Of men of war Toussaint had none since the seizure by the English of a squadron of six armed vessels which he had sent south with arms and ammunition, on the pretext that it was bound against Jamaica.<sup>224</sup>

Toussaint accordingly appealed to the United States for the coöperation of the Santo Domingan squadron stationed off the island to protect American trade.<sup>225</sup> The request was granted. The *General Greene*, in particular, assisted in the siege of Jacmel and even took an active part in the shelling of Rigaud's forts.<sup>226</sup> It was due to the assistance of the American vessels that Toussaint was able to starve Rigaud's forces out of Jacmel and with its fall, March 11, 1800, his ultimate victory was assured. By midsummer of that year the pacification of the south was completed.<sup>227</sup> President Adams had already, by a second proclamation,

<sup>222</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Lowverture and of Edward Stevens*, 75.

<sup>223</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, ix, 177.

<sup>224</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Lowverture and of Edward Stevens*, 91.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>226</sup> Allen, *Our Naval War with France*, 180.

<sup>227</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Lowverture and of Edward Stevens*, 100.

May 9, 1800, opened all the ports in French Santo Domingo to American trade.<sup>228</sup>

In the meantime the independence which the Americans had expected had been asserted. As early as June, 1799, Stevens foresaw the end of even nominal French power in Santo Domingo.<sup>229</sup> In February, 1800, he wrote; "All connection with France will soon be broken off."<sup>230</sup> And on April 19, Toussaint took the decisive step, arresting Rouse and assuming civil as well as military power.<sup>231</sup>

One further step was necessary to make Toussaint's position secure against French attack. Fearing that France might gain a foothold in Spanish Santo Domingo, which in 1795 had been ceded to France, he resolved to add that to his conquests. By February, 1801, it was done and he was master of the whole island.<sup>232</sup>

Toussaint did not neglect the economic development of the island. Compulsory labor was restored. The exports rose almost to their old value and both Toussaint and the foreign merchants grew rich from the profits of the trade which sprang quickly into existence. It was the Americans on whom all the black chief's favors were showered. They built temporary homes among the ruins of Cap Français and passed their days in safety among Toussaint's rough soldiers.<sup>233</sup> Commercial regulations were adapted to suit their desires and their advice was sought in political affairs. Altogether an independent negro state seemed to be established under the aegis of the stars and stripes.

## CHAPTER V

### SANTO DOMINGO IN NAPOLEON'S COLONIAL POLICY

During the years 1799 and 1800 the United States pursued a double policy, lending active support to Toussaint Louverture and at the same time continuing the negotiations

<sup>228</sup> *The Life and Works of John Adams*, ix, 178.

<sup>229</sup> *Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens*, 77.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>232</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 283-287.

<sup>233</sup> Rainsford, *St. Domingo, or an Historical, Political and Military Sketch of the Black Republic*, 32.

with France which led to the Treaty of Morfontaine, signed September 30, 1800, by which Toussaint was abandoned, a course of action which Hamilton thought hardly consistent with good faith.<sup>224</sup> For a year longer England stood between the negro chief and France but the Peace of Amiens, which brought to an end war in Europe, left Napoleon free to deal with the colony as he would.

His policy as it shows itself in his correspondence, embraced the building up of a great colonial empire on the American continent. For the success of this policy the possession of both Santo Domingo and Louisiana was necessary. The failure to secure either meant the failure of the whole scheme. Santo Domingo was the heart of the projected empire. It was the richest colony France had ever possessed and its loss would destroy her prestige. Still more, its strategic position made it an absolutely essential base for military and naval operations.

But just as essential was it to secure possession of Louisiana if the old colonial system was to be restored; for the French West Indies were dependent upon external sources for their food supply while the experience of a hundred years had proved that that source could not be found in France but only on the American continent. As long as the islands had to depend on the United States for food, the connection between them was bound to grow closer, while the supremacy of France was threatened in peace and overturned in war. It was to build up an empire on this side of the Atlantic that should add to the prosperity of France and in war should be self-sufficing, that Napoleon made peace first with the United States and then with Great Britain.<sup>225</sup>

That America should have been willing to aid Napoleon in his undertaking was due in part to a failure to grasp the effect of his policy upon American interests. There seems to have been no widespread enthusiasm in the support given to Toussaint Louverture. Aid was sent to him be-

<sup>224</sup> Lodge, *Works of Hamilton*, x, 345.

<sup>225</sup> Roloff, *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I*, 61. Turner, *The Policy of France Toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams*.

cause he was a convenient instrument to use in the struggle against France. That his success was essential to prevent the development of a much-dreaded French empire on the banks of the Mississippi did not begin to be realized until almost two years after the Treaty of Morfontaine, too late for American action to have been effective.

The English policy was in closer harmony with their own interests. No sooner had peace been made than they were willing even to aid their enemy in reconquering Santo Domingo. It was fear of the effects of an independent negro state upon their own slave-owning colonies in the West Indies that led them to this policy; but it would have added much to their prosperity if America had absorbed all of Napoleon's energy and the peace of Europe had been preserved.<sup>226</sup>

As soon as the Treaty of Amiens left Napoleon free, he began his preparations for the great expedition which under his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, was to bring Santo Domingo into obedience and which was then to proceed to the conquest of Louisiana.

Toussaint early realized that the American government had resolved to give him no aid against France. In July, 1801, Dr. Stevens was succeeded by Tobias Lear as Consul-General of the United States in Santo Domingo. His reception was the occasion of a display of ill temper by Toussaint, because he had not brought with him a special letter from the president to the negro general, a courtesy expected by Toussaint and one which the American government would have accorded a year before.<sup>227</sup> The change in American policy would have been observed even by one less keen-sighted than Toussaint. Lear wrote four months after his arrival in the island: "Not a single line of intercourse between the Government of the U. S. and this. Not a single line of communication to me from my

<sup>226</sup> The most complete discussion of Napoleon's relation to Santo Domingo as it bears upon American history, is to be found in Adams' *History of the United States of America*. Roloff in his *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I*, gives a more balanced account of Napoleon's policy in regard to Santo Domingo as it stands in relation to his whole colonial policy.

<sup>227</sup> State Department Archives, Lear to Madison, July 17, 1801.

Government. . . . No public Ships or Vessels belonging to the U. S. on the coasts or in the harbors as heretofore."<sup>238</sup> It required a great deal of tact to preserve the friendly relations which the United States had promised Napoleon so soon to break off.

The arrival of Leclerc's expedition was to be the signal for the suspension of trade with Toussaint and the rendering of active assistance to the French army.<sup>239</sup> The president cautioned the American representatives in the island carefully to avoid any action which "might hazard the confidence or good will of the French Government," and to be "guided by a Strict conformity to all legitimate regulations emanating from that authority, as well as from the friendly relations now Subsisting between the two nations."<sup>240</sup> That Toussaint continued, however, to secure arms and provisions from American merchants during his struggle with Leclerc is certain, despite Madison's very vigorous denial that a single American citizen had engaged in "commerce of any sort with Toussaint and his adherents," after the arrival of the French armament.<sup>241</sup>

American merchants viewed the coming of the French forces with anxiety. They feared that they would be compelled to forfeit all the advantages which they had enjoyed under Toussaint, and they were right. Napoleon's instructions to Leclerc concluded with the order to admit American commerce to the island until its conquest but then "the French alone shall be admitted and the old regulations of the period before the revolution shall again be put into force."<sup>242</sup> But Leclerc's need of provisions which could be obtained only from American merchants was so great that for the first two months he was compelled to retain Toussaint's regulations and to postpone the restoration of the restrictive commercial policy of former days. He was even forced to recognize Lear temporarily, although the

<sup>238</sup> State Department Archives, Lear to Madison, November 9, 1801.

<sup>239</sup> Roloff, *op. cit.*, 249.

<sup>240</sup> State Department Archives, Lear to Dandridge, April 11, 1802.

<sup>241</sup> *The Writings of James Madison*, vi, 458.

<sup>242</sup> Roloff, *op. cit.*, 254.

French government had declined previously to recognize American consuls in their colonial possessions.<sup>243</sup> But as soon as conditions permitted the step, Lear received his dismissal, returning home in April, 1802.<sup>244</sup>

Leclerc felt a special dislike for Americans, partly because of the aid they had given to Toussaint and partly because of the difficulty he had in dealing with them and the high prices they demanded for all their supplies.<sup>245</sup> His grumblings against the Yankee traders were repeated in all the American ports and caused much trouble for Pichon, who, as French minister in the United States, had to assist in the provisioning of the French forces in Santo Domingo.<sup>246</sup> On March 31, 1802, Leclerc felt himself strong enough to enter upon a policy of restriction in regard to foreign commerce, and on that date he issued an ordinance, by which only four ports were left open to trade and there foreign merchants were to pay export and import duties of 20 per cent of the value of their cargoes while the French were subject to duties only half as high. But he found that he had overestimated the amount of provisions to be secured from French sources and in June and again in September he was obliged to modify his regulations to permit the freer entrance of food stuffs.<sup>247</sup> Despite the restrictions, the establishment of peace resulted in a decided increase in foreign shipping. Of American trade, it might be said that it would always exist with Santo Domingo Regulations and policies might increase or lessen it but they could never entirely end it.

As to the success of the expedition, when it started from France, twenty thousand strong, it had every prospect of carrying to a successful conclusion the plan of action which Napoleon had outlined step by step. But there was one foe on which Napoleon had not counted. In May yellow fever made its appearance and through the hot months

<sup>243</sup> State Department Archives, Lear to Madison, February 6, 1802.

<sup>244</sup> State Department Archives, Lear to Leclerc, April 10, 1802.

<sup>245</sup> Adams, *Historical Essays*, 140. Roloff, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>246</sup> Adams, *Historical Essays*, 141.

<sup>247</sup> Roloff, *op. cit.*, 101-102.

that followed Leclerc's army vanished before it. In July Leclerc wrote that he was losing one hundred and sixty men a day and before the end of the year twenty-nine thousand men had died.<sup>248</sup> Leclerc himself succumbed in November and with his death French control was at an end. His successor, Rochambeau, held on for a year but he made no headway and he gradually lost what Leclerc had gained. The general's death had been decisive. Only at a cost of life impossible for France to afford, could Napoleon's vision of an American empire be realized. Napoleon's policy was at once reversed. Rochambeau was abandoned. Louisiana was sold to the United States. War was declared on England. The dream of a great French state on the Gulf of Mexico was at an end. Santo Domingo still remained nominally French but its reconquest was postponed until a more auspicious time.<sup>249</sup> But the influence of Santo Domingo on Franco-American relations was not quite at an end.

Even before the departure of Rochambeau and the French troops, Santo Domingo had fallen under the control of one of Toussaint's lieutenants, of whom Sir Spenser St. John wrote; "The only good quality that Dessalines possessed was a sort of brute courage; in all else he was but an African savage, distinguished even among his countrymen for his superior ferocity and perfidy. He was incapable as an administrator, and treated the public revenue as his own private income."<sup>250</sup> On January 1, 1804, the independence of the island was proclaimed and the old Indian name of Haiti was resumed to show the complete break with the past.

In September of that year an American agent was sent down to establish with Dessalines the friendly commercial relations which had been enjoyed by the United States

<sup>248</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 340.

<sup>249</sup> Roloff, who has made a most careful study from archival material of Napoleon's colonial policy, maintains, in opposition to most writers on the subject, that Napoleon never for a moment surrendered the hope of regaining Santo Domingo and that his plans were laid for its reconquest at the earliest possible moment.

<sup>250</sup> St. John, *Haiti, or the Black Republic*, 77.



with Toussaint Louverture.<sup>251</sup> During the two years in which Dessalines held power commercial intercourse continued much as it had during the five years preceding. American merchants had never lost touch with the negroes since trade was first established with them in 1791. Leclerc, despite strenuous efforts, had not been able to break up the smuggling while under Rochambeau American vessels avoided the ports held by the French in order to trade with the negroes.<sup>252</sup> The declaration of independence served as a stimulus to this commerce, the profits from which were enormous.

In the fall of 1804 Jefferson was meditating action against Great Britain to protect the rights of neutrals upon the high seas. Such a course drove him into the arms of France and his desire to win favor with that nation led him to frown upon the Santo Domingan trade. In 1804 the French declared a paper blockade of Santo Domingo,<sup>253</sup> to which the Americans replied by arming their merchant vessels and preparing to fight against any opposition.<sup>254</sup> In October, 1804, John Quincy Adams found Jefferson determined to suppress trade with the island,<sup>255</sup> but the most he was able to secure from Congress was a bill prohibiting merchantmen from arming for the West India trade and placing them under heavy bonds for good behavior.<sup>256</sup> An amendment putting an end to all commerce with Santo Domingo was defeated by the casting vote of Burr.

The bill had little effect upon the trade with Santo Domingo. In the spring of 1805 a great fleet set out for Haiti with eighty cannon and seven hundred men. On the return of the flotilla in May a dinner was given in New York, toasts were drunk to the independence of Haiti and the friendship between the two nations was celebrated. This was too much for Napoleon and he instructed both Talleyrand and Turreau to write in vigorous terms de-

<sup>251</sup> Ardouin, *op. cit.*, vi, 108.

<sup>252</sup> Roloff, *op. cit.*, 115.

<sup>253</sup> *Writings of James Madison*, vii, 136.

<sup>254</sup> *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, i, 223.

<sup>255</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, i, 314.

<sup>256</sup> *New York Herald*, December 1, 1804.

manding that the trade should be stopped.<sup>287</sup> Jefferson was anxious at that time to secure the Floridas by French intercession, and was ready to do anything to keep the good will of France. Accordingly in December, 1805, Dr. Logan introduced a bill into the senate to put an end to all commercial relations with Haiti.<sup>288</sup> There was a strong opposition to the measure from the Federalists, partly on party grounds, partly because the Federalists represented the commercial classes whose interests would be injuriously affected by the bill, and partly because of their unwillingness to act in subservience to France.<sup>289</sup> But despite the opposition the bill passed and on February 28, 1806, received the president's signature.

The prohibition was continued from year to year. In June, 1809, Livermore, a Federalist from Massachusetts, proposed that the trade with Santo Domingo be resumed because of its value and importance, but he was met with a storm of abuse from the Southern senators and his bill received only his own vote. Within a few months, however, by the lapse of the prohibiting enactments, trade with Haiti was quietly renewed.<sup>290</sup>

The support which Jefferson received in his attack upon the Santo Domingan trade was to a certain extent a party support, but there was another factor which was already potent though it had not as yet been avowed. The slavocracy of the South was already awakening to the danger which threatened the basis of its power and this fear found its expression in a desperate opposition to any measure which tended to strengthen the relations existing between the United States and the negro republic whose influence upon its own institutions was most bitterly dreaded.

<sup>287</sup> *American State Papers. Foreign Relations*, ii, 726-727.

<sup>288</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 9 Cong, 1 sess., 26.

<sup>289</sup> Benton, *Abridgments of the Debates in Congress*, iii, 349-351, 360.

<sup>290</sup> Hildreth, *op. cit.*, vi, 181-183.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*Nationalism, War and Society.* BY EDWARD KREHBIEL, Ph.D.,  
Professor of History in Leland Stanford Junior University.  
New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916.

In this volume, which has just appeared, Professor Krehbiel has presented a syllabus of nearly every topic which is necessary for an understanding of the fundamental problems of International Relations. The scope of the work may be judged from the titles of a few of the chapters: nationalism, the case for nationalism and the war system, the faults of nationalism and the war system, the armed peace and its fruits, the economic consequences of war, public debts, war and sociology, war and biology, the role of force, modern internationalism, idealist pacifism, practical pacifism, international law, international arbitration, limitation of national sovereignty education and peace, and the great war and pacificism. Each chapter is divided into topics, with short paragraphs giving summaries of the various points of view, and with striking quotations and a bibliography. It is a work of value for the serious student of international relations. It would make an excellent text-book for a college or university class dealing with the problem of international government, or world organization.

*Our Eastern Question: America's Contact with the Orient and the Trend of Relations with China and Japan.* By THOMAS F. MILLARD. New York: The Century Company. 1916.

Mr. Millard is intimately acquainted with the Far East through years of residence and travel, and has written an interesting account of the present tangled Oriental situation. While strongly anti-Japanese, as is natural for one living mostly in China, he has made an important addition to the serious literature on the subject. The student will especially welcome the hundred and fifty pages of appendices which give a large number of source documents.

*The Problems and Lessons of the War.* Clark University Addresses. Edited by George H. Blakeslee, Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University, with a foreword by G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. \$2.00.

The following are quotations from recent reviews of this volume: "A notable addition to war literature."—*New York Times*.

"An important collection of addresses. . . . No better example of free speech and the willingness to hear all sides of important questions could be found, than is exhibited in this volume. . . . In all there are twenty-four papers presenting a wide range of opinion as expressed by men, each one a recognized authority on the subject with which he deals."—*The Congregationalist*.

"One of the soberest and most suggestive contributions to the literature of the European cataclysm. . . . the book represents a dispassionate and reasonable attempt to arrive at the truth in regard to the fundamental problems of the conflict."—*Springfield Republican*.

"One seeking the best in the vast output on the subject war and preparedness will welcome *The Problems and Lessons of the War*."—*Cincinnati Times*.

"A literary tribunal, as it were, that shows the broad and diverse viewpoints of English and Germans as well as Americans, by men and women of distinguished achievement."—*Bookseller*, New York.

"There are those who can still discuss the war calmly and dispassionately, free from prejudices and with a view to its effects on the future of the world. Some of the best of them contribute to the wealth of valuable discussion which lies between the covers of *The Problems and Lessons of the War*,"—*Buffalo Commercial*.

"American, British and German viewpoints are presented and each in a calm, clear and vigorous fashion, which will claim and hold the reader's attention regardless of his predisposition to one side or the other."—*Spokane Spokesman Review*.

*Contemporary Politics in the Far East.* By STANLEY K. HORNBECK. New York and London: D. Appleton and Co. 1916.

Professor Hornbeck has given an excellent and fairminded account of the international relations of the Far East. The first part of the volume summarizes the recent history of China

and of Japan; of China from the exciting days of 1898 through the Revolution to the recent return to Monarchy, and of Japan from the time of Perry to the present administration of Count Okuma. The bulk of the work describes the recent diplomatic history of China and Japan, with emphasis upon their relations with the United States. The presentation is notably fair while the author is able to speak with authority, from his long residence in China. One wishing to understand the complicated situation in the Far East should read the volume.

# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

OCTOBER 1916

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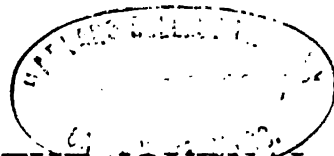
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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

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## THE WAR IN EUROPE AND TRUE PAN-AMERICANISM<sup>1</sup>

*By Dr. R. S. Naón, Ambassador from the  
Republic of Argentina*

It behooves me in the first place to thank the distinguished mayor of your city and the gentlemen at the head of this organization for the high honor they have bestowed upon me in giving me the privilege of addressing you on this day.

It is most gratifying to me to share in your satisfaction in this act common to all the countries of our continent and when the social atmosphere of the entire universe appears as if rarefied; at this very moment when there is substituted, in an enormous part of the civilized world, in place of the distinction of literary and philosophical speculation, in place of the solemn and moralizing tranquillity of scientific investigation, and in place of the fruitful application of its principles to the endless multiplicity of industrial activities, discouragement and sadness and despair in the home, solitude in the laboratory where the life of modern civilization is created, and funereal silence in the industrial workshop where the social and political capacity of the great laboring masses was augmented to bring about the triumph of human democracy, which, emphasizing the dignity of Man and his divine origin, consecrates him entirely to that collective activity which cannot be worked out but upon a solidarity of interests and a profound sentiment of fraternity.

It does not appear that human history can show a time more difficult than that through which we are passing,

<sup>1</sup> The Columbus Day address at Boston, October 12, 1916.



nor does it seem that we can draw from its pages a more fruitful lesson than that presented to us by the sad events of the European War. I believe that I merely affirm a fact when I say that its consequences, for many years to come, will affect, without exception, all the nations of the world.

Our continent has drawn the material for the groundwork of its own civilization from the countries which are shedding their blood in this war: the sound political judgment of England has always been an inspiration and an example for us; the great achievements of German activity and science have contributed in large measure to our welfare and progress; and the nobility and genius of France and Italy in the fields of philosophy and art have constituted and still constitute, for most of the nations of America, the highest model for their mental activities. It might well be said that all the moral and material energies of those peoples have combined to produce this marvelous social transformation called American civilization, a transformation which feels itself affected in its most vital elements by the social consternation and the economic upset brought about by the sorrowful dissension among the great European nations. And that consternation is thoroughly justified when we stop to think that beside the moral ties there are also the ties of blood which have made of Europe and of America brother continents dedicated to the activities of a common race, with fundamentally identical ideas and with mutual interests in the maintenance of the energies indispensable to the complete fulfillment of human destinies.

You will thus see how we are obliged to look with sympathy on the peoples engaged in the present war; how we are compelled to consider with tolerance the motives underlying the sad conflict. There could be no justification at the present moment, in the practical judgment which directs the action of peoples, either for an angry protest or for a philosophical or sentimental criticism against the present generation of those countries which, the heirs of political systems or of institutions or of organizations which evolve slowly, or of more or less explicable prejudices or

passions, have been compelled to face the responsibilities of this sorrowful crisis in which one-half of the world is destroying itself while the other half stands stricken almost dumb with awe and grief!

In the face of this enormous catastrophe the bearing of America cannot but be expectant and reconstructive, if, as I believe, there is still reason to trust that the idea of human solidarity is the final end of social evolution. May God grant that, inspired by that idea and prompted by our community of interests, all the nations of America before long may coöperate in the task, a thousand times blessed, of restoring lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of Europe, together with the sentiment of that solidarity as the basis for their future action. Meanwhile, if it be permitted to us at the present moment only to express this hope, which is in all hearts as the earnest longing of our solidary America, if a protest from her would be but cruel at the present moment, and if a philosophical criticism would be not worthy of respect as a commentary on the painful spectacle, nevertheless, we cannot let our attention wander from it when all our present and future interests are so seriously jeopardized by the conflict. Neglect in the consideration of the factors which have produced the crisis, for the purpose of avoiding them in the organization of our international policy in America, would be, if not criminal on our part, at least a manifestation of organic inconsistency, a demonstration that our countries or our governments are as yet unprepared to comprehend the mission that is destined for us in the concert of the nations of the world. An error among societies as well as among men is either rectified, corrected or modified by the wise coöperative action of those who had the good fortune of not being parties to the discussion of the causes which led to such error. Hence it is that at the present hour it is for us, the countries far removed from the scene and aloof from the interests in the midst of which the European dissensions have been growing until this terrible climax, to take up the arduous but glorious task of reincarnating modern civilization. But to do this it becomes essential to

readjust the system of our political ties; to correct, until they are made to vanish, the causes of possible disagreements; and, finally, to cement American solidarity, founding it upon the only immovable base in the relations of countries—that is to say, upon the maintenance of the principles of right, of justice and of reciprocal tolerance.

I do not believe that I err when I advance as an immediate cause of the sorrowful European situation, the prevalence of an international political system based on antagonistic interests of all kinds. With pain I reflect upon the fact that if prejudice and passion had not prevented those interests from harmonizing, these titanic efforts in the struggle we are witnessing might have made up a sum of energies and constructive action so enormous that their result in benefit to civilization and to progress and to life would have exceeded by far the most daring flight of human imagination.

Unfortunately, European civilization has developed in fact as the product of a national individualistic organization without the conception of continental interests and without the notion of moral achievements common to all the countries, upon which the responsibility for their preservation also rested.

Face to face with the interests and conveniences of the one, were the interests and conveniences of the others; face to face with the presumed national destinies of the one, were the presumed national destinies of the others; face to face with the political and social traditions of the one, were the political and social traditions of the others; and, finally, face to face with the material and moral progress of the one, was the material and moral progress of the others; and what is more painful still is that this material and moral progress appears not to have been provoked solely by a sentiment of sound emulation, by a feeling of coöperation inspired by the intention of fulfilling the individual task in the common work of collective progress. No; its production appears to have been prompted also by feelings of intense rivalry on every hand, eager to utilize them in the inevitable struggle, thus giving vent to sentiments which

carry with them belittlement and hatred and which contaminate the atmosphere of tolerance and respect, which is the only atmosphere in which the cultivation of friendly relations is possible.

But all the circumstances which have united to bind our nations with the European nations, making, as I have said before, of Europe and of America continents dedicated to the activities of a common race, also make us concerned for the modification of those conditions, not by a direct physical influence, which would not accord with the moral action of one nation upon another, but by the indirect moral influence always exercised upon human organisms by the success of the action of those among whom we live.

To America is reserved the honorable task of exercising an influence in the transformation of the old international organization of the world by the example of its organization of solidarity, which, at the same time that it maintains in all its vigor and to its fullest extent every one of the national organisms, lives the international life without dread, without disturbance, and without conflict.

By rare good fortune, when we inherited the elements of the civilization of those great nations, we did not inherit the prejudices and the passions which have burst out into the horrible universal hecatomb we are witnessing. Our political developments are not controlled by the systems of government which, although they have experienced a great and favorable evolution, live still influenced by the tradition of principles the wisdom of which was questioned by the glorious framers of the constitutions of this continent.

There do not exist in our national organisms, nor have there ever existed, those differences of caste which always leave, notwithstanding the lapse of time, a sentiment of inequality and hatred in the very depths of society; nor do we have to contend with fundamental ethnic differences: all of the nations of America are, with more or less intensity, organisms in course of formation, the product of a similar cosmopolitanism in which all races are fused together and all ideals evolve openly toward an American formation whose future differentiation will be governed more by the

geographical and climatological characteristics of each nation than by its ethnic elements. That formation, in the last analysis, will produce an American type from one end of the continent to the other, with similar and common ideals and aspirations, with the same purposes and needs, as well as with an identical political conception developed under the influence of republican institutions, uniform in all our countries, and which live, stimulated by that profound sentiment of individual and collective equality imposed upon us as a necessity of our spirit, by democratic sentiment, both in our national activities and in the maintenance of our international relations.

These are not the only conditions of similarity which distinguish the very peculiar position of America, facilitating the fulfilment of common destinies without essential friction to disturb an intense and fruitful coöperation. At the bottom of every one of our elements there lives and palpitates a common feeling of horror for warfare among the countries of this continent, and this feeling, ladies and gentlemen, is prompted, rather than by a political idea, rather than by selfish advantage, by a feeling of continental fraternity still undefined but felt as intensely in the valleys of your Mississippi or on the prairies of your triumphant West, as on the exuberant plains of the tropics or in the cold and remote southernmost regions of my country. It is the presentiment of a common destiny to the realization of which we also consider ourselves bound by the earnest desire to consecrate the best energies of each people without considerations of relativity, which serve solely to bring to the surface fruitless and disturbing selfishness. Steadfast visionaries of the same destinies and of the same achievements, to accomplish their transcendental mission in history the peoples of America must live a life of loyalty and of moral vigor, recognizing the respective progress of each, duly consecrating the merits of those who have first succeeded, and setting them up as models, as examples and as sources of encouragement for the action of the others who follow in the rear, strenuously struggling forward, without measuring distance or being halted by obstacles.

The history of the centuries has perhaps never witnessed a possibility equal to that presented by the American continent for the realization of the old and noble longing for human solidarity.

Many distinguished spirits have cherished, at different times and in different parts of the continent, the thought of a close international union among all the countries of America. The efforts made to bring this thought to realization are a mystery to no one. But you, better than any one else, know that in republican nations it is only the ideas which have become rooted in the clash of public opinion that acquire the dynamic force necessary for the policy of governments to produce all its effects.

Since the period of our respective political emancipations, Pan-Americanism has been a latent idea in all of the peoples of the continent. It has become crystallized from time to time in the councils of governments, and in universities and in congresses has been the subject-matter of more or less brilliant philosophical or political speculation. It is to be found also in the sentiment of the Pan-American masses as a vague longing, but still it lacks the necessary consistency to permit its opinions to be clearly defined and to combine them into a political force capable of bringing to fruition the noble and patriotic efforts which men of government all over the continent are at the present time putting forth.

With my convictions as a Pan-Americanist, I believe in the advantage of emphasizing at any hazard that definition. There must be cleared up in all minds the notion of the practical convenience for all countries of America to be found in a policy of continental solidarity which, founded upon the basis of common institutions, may allow the destinies of each to be worked out without the disturbance provoked by antagonistic interests struggling for a predominance which sooner or later leads to the use of force. It is necessary that all of us be convinced of the existence of a continental aspiration, of an aspiration which can be fulfilled only by the effort of each nation in the full exercise of its undisputed and indisputable political sover-

eignty, applied spontaneously and wholly to the realization of the common task. The progress which time and education may produce in social and political ideas or in the exercise of republican institutions by each of our nations, little by little will perfect the work and emphasize the efficiency of our action.

It is necessary to bring to the conviction of the Pan-American masses the idea that the national sovereignty of each country is not subject to interpretation by the others, that its exercise is controlled solely by constitutional responsibilities or by the rules established among civilized countries by international law. Finally, in the concert of the various capacities as well as in that of the achievements of the different nations of the continent, it is necessary that the attainment of the greatest be taken as a common attainment, that the capacity of the richest be promoted as a common capacity, that the fruitful activity of the industrious be encouraged as a common quality, and, finally, that the mental and moral energies of each be considered and respected and valued as a common and consistent patrimony of all. In a word, it is necessary to bring about a pathological normality by reducing the consequences of the hypertrophy of national personality from which some of them may be suffering, and by removing the feeling of distrust and annoyance which might be produced in the minds of the others by indiscreet manifestations of an egotism which does not coincide either with moral vigor or with the conveniences of a fruitful association.

The day when the public spirit of each of the nations of America becomes imbued with the feeling of absolute tranquillity with which they can devote themselves to the organization of the administration of their territorial patrimony, without being disturbed by the fear of an attack; the day they can dedicate to practice within their relative political capacities the republican institutions under the protection of which they are organized, and exercise their political sovereignties under the sole control which constitutional limitations or the sanctions of international life impose, on that day we shall be able to say that the idea

of Pan-Americanism has triumphed, that peace and tranquillity and the greater efficiency of common action by the continent have been defined, and that the republican form of government, up to the present time an experiment more or less successful, has become consecrated definitely as the most efficient political instrument for the realization of the welfare of peoples through the virtue of our continent and for the benefit of the world.

In the meantime, upon those of us who directly or indirectly share the responsibilities of the guidance of our respective countries, is imposed the arduous but fruitful task of intensifying our efforts toward the crystallization of that sentiment of true Pan-Americanism in the thought and in the opinion of all peoples until the advantages of moral and social solidarity shall define the American continent and its civilization as the most perfect expression of an international life founded on the exercise of the highest principles of justice and right and reciprocal tolerance, placed at the service of the permanent interests of mankind.



## THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON ENGLISH LIFE AND THOUGHT<sup>1</sup>

*By Hon. J. Howard Whitehouse, Member of Parliament*

I have a somewhat difficult task tonight, because I want to attempt to give you some sort of a picture of conditions in a belligerent country, which are necessarily always changing. And let me say at the beginning that I do not desire to speak tonight from any party standpoint. I am not here tonight to plead any cause, and, if it be not too presumptuous for me to say so, I simply wish to attempt to give you a record of facts in the spirit of a contemporary historian, without passion or prejudice, so far as a person coming from a belligerent country can claim to speak without prejudice and without passion.

At the outbreak of the war, the English army consisted of some thousands of men. It now consists of some millions. The withdrawal of men from civil life to the army was one of the factors that led immediately to a great change in England. It led to a great reorganization of the industrial, commercial and social life of England. Many people may be, at first, disposed to think that the changes that are taking place in England (and I am sure the same would be true of the other belligerent countries) are temporary changes, and that at the end of the war many of them will cease to have effect. I am one of those who believe that the changes are largely permanent changes, and I want to put before you some facts and considerations to support that view which I hold very strongly. You are looking at the war in Europe at a great distance, and you see the drama of it. What you do not see at this distance, and what many of us do not see who are in the middle of the passion and excitement of the war at home, is the mighty permanent revolution it means in the methods and

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered at Clark University, November 13, 1916.

the thoughts and the organization of the belligerent countries.

Now, take first this question of the change that has been caused in England by the withdrawal of millions of men from the ordinary civil life of the nation to go into the army. I want to remind you what a profound influence that has had in the organization of the country and upon some of the great domestic problems that troubled us before the war. Let me remind you that before the war we had what was known in England (I don't know whether you had the same problem in America) as the Women's Question. We were face to face with a very extensive demand for the political enfranchisement of women. It was reported to me, on a former occasion, when I had been dealing with this Women's Question in England, that I had dealt with the question so impartially as to convey the impression that I was, myself, opposed to women's suffrage. Let me, therefore, say, if I may depart from my rôle of historian for a moment, that that was an erroneous impression. Before the war, the supporters of women's suffrage were divided, in England, into two classes: there were those who desired to obtain the vote for women in a constitutional way, to persuade sufficient members of Parliament to vote for it in Parliament and to persuade the government of the day to make it a government measure and to carry it through all its stages as a government bill. That was a long and tedious process—in fact, it appeared to some that it would reach a solution in the Greek Kalends! So there gradually grew another school of supporters of women's suffrage, who believed in what I may term "brisker" methods. Before the war, those brisker methods were being indulged in very freely. One of the last recollections I have of a public meeting held before the war, in England, was a public meeting held in an academic city that shall be nameless, and I went to that meeting in company with a cabinet minister. We were driving in a car to the meeting, and before we had reached the place where the meeting was to be held, the glass in the car was broken and we were covered with bricks and

stones and hard and soft vegetables. Let me hasten to say that all those attentions were for my distinguished friend; I was simply the unfortunate victim of his popularity. I mention this circumstance, as it was typical of many similar meetings and will illustrate to you the passion that was caused by this question. Indeed, buildings were burned down, and public meetings were broken up constantly, and members of Parliament and members of the government were often prevented from speaking. Let me also say, before going on to follow the changes in this connection due to the war, that those to whatever party they belonged, who desired the political enfranchisement of women, did not want the vote as an end in itself. The question was complicated by a great many questions, and there were many supporters of the suffrage who desired the vote as a means to an end, and who desired to deal with other great social problems which affected women. They wished to secure the economic and social equality of women before the law. So it was much more than the simple question of giving women the vote. It was related to other very serious and very controversial social questions.

Now, what happened when the war broke out? I have spoken of the great withdrawal of men from civil life into the army. That immediately caused a great demand for labor. The demand became greater and greater, as more men were taken into the army, and the result was that the women took the place of the men in the industrial life of the nation. I do not know whether many of you know England well, or knew it well before the war, but if you did, and should visit it now, and cared to look for these things, you would be able to see for yourselves how great a transformation has been effected in this respect. Women now are doing a large part of the work of the nation which, before the war, was done by men. They are not only doing work suited to them, but they are doing other work which is not so obviously suited to them. I do not mean that the work is above their intellectual capacity; I only meant that physically the work is, perhaps, unsuited to them. You will find women in the railroad stations, sell-

ing tickets; there are women conductors on the trains, and women conductors on the trams. You would find women drivers of commercial vehicles. Women have taken the place of men in the shops and offices, and in business establishments, which before the war were staffed by men. If, however, you went outside these ordinary occupations of the big towns and visited the agricultural districts of England, you would find that agriculture was being largely carried on with the help of women; and if you went into the innumerable munition factories which are everywhere active, you would find women side by side with men, doing work of the most laborious nature and doing it successfully, and in other heavy manufacturing industries you would also find women doing the heavy physical work that before the war we associated with men.

What does this mean? It means that the women of Great Britain almost in a day achieved economic independence.

Now, many think that at the end of the war we shall go back to the state of things existing before the war. I think that is a shallow and mistaken view. I do not share it at all, because I believe that the women, having won economic independence, are not in the future going to sink back into an economic dependence such as marked the condition of so many of them before the war. I think their advent into the industrial life of the nation is permanent, and I think their competition with the labor of men is not only permanent, but will be conducted on terms of equality, and I think you will see a growth of great trade unions devoted to the interests of women, just as we have seen the growth of the unions devoted to the interests of men. I think this also will have a profound influence upon many of those problems associated in the past with the claims that women have made for political enfranchisement.

Now, before I develop the permanence of that change further, let me say this: I have often been asked whether the very fact that women have taken this part in the work of the nation during the war will not almost automatically, or quite automatically, solve the problem of the suf-

frage, the great national controversy that we had conducted with so much passion. Will not that great controversy be settled automatically, after the war, and will not other domestic questions also find a similarly satisfactory settlement after the war? I wish I could believe so. I wish I could believe that war had this extraordinary effect, that it brought people of opposing views on such questions as this to think alike and to agree upon a common cause of action, but I do not think that is the result of war, or has been the result of war in any age or country. I do not think that we shall all be of the same mind after the war, or that we shall all be content to give women the vote as a kind of reward for their good conduct during the war. It is very interesting, I think, to inquire whether the national mind has changed in this respect and would give up beliefs that were so strongly held before the war. I think, if you can take a sufficiently detached view, even in war time, and in a belligerent country, there is evidence to be gathered as to whether or not men change their views on questions like this. Let me give you one example. There is being held at the present time, in England, what is known as a National Mission of Repentance and Hope. Now, I do not mention that National Mission of Repentance and Hope to consider it from a religious or theological standpoint: far from it. I only mention it in order to take from it certain evidence bearing upon the point I am trying to illustrate. This National Mission was organized by the archbishops and bishops of the Anglican Church, in England. When they met to consider the details of this mission, they were conscious of the claim of women in the past to equality with men and of their claim to equality in social service and opportunity. Before the war, there was always a party in the English Church which desired the church to give recognition to the Women's Question from a progressive standpoint, and so the bishops decided, during the war, in connection with this mission of the English Church, to give a certain new recognition of the standing of women; they decided, for the first time in the history of the English Church, that women should be allowed to take a certain

part in public. It was not a very great part. They were not to be allowed to speak from the pulpits or the reading desks of the churches. They were not to be allowed to stand in the chancel, or on the steps, or to stand anywhere where they would be raised above the level of their audience; but so long as they did not stand on a higher level than their congregation, and so long as the congregation consisted exclusively of women and children, but did not contain any men, they would be allowed to speak in public at the meetings of the mission. That did not strike some of us as a very revolutionary proposal—at least, some of us thought that it was an experiment that could be carried out without any considerable danger to the state! It may have been a considerable advance from the standpoint of bishops, but it really did not mark a very considerable advance from the standpoint of some of the people, at least, in the country. But, moderate as it was, closely guarded as it was with these conditions, the proposal brought at once a great outburst of opposition from members of other schools of thought within the Anglican Church, and the bishops were at once taken to task—sometimes, I thought, in language of almost frank brutality. The bishops were told they were destroying the fabric of our church life, and that they were acting contrary to the teaching of the scriptures. So great was the opposition that the bishops themselves saw at once how revolutionary they had become. I am bound to say, however, that they were frightened at the outburst that their scheme had aroused, and they frankly withdrew the proposal that they had made concerning the part that women were to play in the mission. They announced that in view of the fact that it was regarded as a revolutionary proposal, they must withdraw the permission they had given, and they could allow the women to take no part in the mission in the way of speaking, no matter what position they occupied in the church, and no matter what the character of the congregation; they much regretted to do so, but they must withdraw all their proposals! That sounds very amusing to us, and I think it is, too, and I mention it, in passing, to show you

that human nature does not automatically change because it is war time, and I am driven to the conclusion that personal prejudices and beliefs are not things that are going to be given up and that these great domestic problems that were matters of acute controversy before the war will again become matters of controversy after the war. But while that is true, we shall be very shortsighted if we do not realize that the change which has taken place in the position of the women of the nation is, of course, a factor which must affect the thought of the nation on this question after the war. Certainly it will affect the power of women, after the war, to achieve the franchise. Women will be in a much stronger position—a much stronger economic position, and a much stronger position in every way to maintain the claims that they had put forward before the war, and, though I do not see the automatic solution of the difficulties in question, yet I think that the strength of those who support the enfranchisement of women will be very much greater after the war.

Now take another aspect, if you will, of the social changes in English life. The scarcity of labor, due to the enormous increase in the army, has only partially been met by the services of women, and that means that a part of the necessary labor is supplied by the youth of the nation and, in some degree, by the children of the nation. Before the war, many of us were looking forward to a great advance in English education. Many of us thought that the social organization of the country took an undue toll of the youthful life. We have, in England, an elementary school system for the children of the poor, which is unlike your American system, because we have not the common school in the sense in which you have the common public school attended by all children, practically, without reference to their social class. We have an elementary school system which is, in the main, attended by the children of the poor, and which is not scientifically related to further forms of education. We have no public high school to which children of the elementary schools go automatically—a free public high school. Before the war, many of us were con-

scious of the extraordinary waste of the best assets of the nation, due to the fact that our boys left the elementary school at the age of thirteen or fourteen, in order to undertake at that immature age the work of life. There was always a great demand for boy labor in England. The boy was always greatly sought after, and we were looking to an extension of the school age and adequate provision for intermediate education to bring some of this economic and social wastage to an end. The war, of course, stopped all these plans; not only that, but in war time all the educational influences of the country are necessarily weakened. As the demand for labor grew acute, boys not only left the elementary school at the statutory working age (thirteen or fourteen), but in thousands of cases were allowed to leave school while still under statutory obligation to attend school. They went into agriculture, and sometimes into other forms of industry. I remember that in the autumn of 1914, the withdrawal of children of school age from school for work in agriculture or other employment was thought to be only temporary, and people hoped that in a few months they would return to school, but, alas, this was not to be.

It may interest you, in this connection, to estimate the demand for child labor by comparing the different values, before the war and during the war, of an English boy. Before the war, a boy who left school, in England, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, if he lived outside of London, in the provinces of England, could secure employment, but his value would be five shillings a week—one dollar and twenty-five cents a week. If, however, he lived in London, his value would be higher, owing to the higher cost of living in London, compared with the provinces, and there he would be worth about two dollars a week. Compare those pre-war rates of pay for the English boy with the rates that prevail today, wholly in consequence of the demand for labor. The boy of fourteen leaving school today is eagerly sought after, and would get four, five, or six dollars, or even more in works where boy labor is most urgently required. The result is that not only the English woman, but the English boy has become economically inde-



pendent. That economic independence of the English boy is a much more serious and a much more complicated matter than would appear at first sight. I want to ask you to notice certain things in connection with the economic independence of the English boy. I want you to consider the new influences that surround the English boy as a result of the war. One, of course, of the great tragedies of the war—the greatest tragedy of all war—is the loss of wealth. I do not mean material wealth, but the loss of wealth that can never be replaced. The great tragedy of all war is the loss of the best assets that a nation has—the loss of its youthful life. In the English army as in all the armies the casualty lists are heavy, and every day some hundreds of English boys lose their fathers, and the greatest influence in the ordinary life of a boy is forever withdrawn. But in thousands of cases where the boy has not lost his father forever, his father is at the war, and that influence is for the time being removed from him. That means that the whole family life is changed; the whole of the natural influences surrounding the child in normal times are changed.

That is not the only vital change. Losing, at the most impressionable time of his life, a great part of the home influence, the educational influences upon the boy are relaxed. He himself is urgently wanted in industry and agriculture, and therefore he probably leaves school much earlier than he would have done in days of peace, and with all these higher influences removed, the home influence weakened and changed, the school influence withdrawn altogether, he yet becomes economically independent, which means that he is also independent of all restraint, and he is prematurely getting a man's wages and a man's freedom. I do not need to tell you how serious that problem is. There are some evils caused by war that can be rectified after the war, many hardships that can be put right, many burdens that can be removed. Here is an evil due to the war that if you do not attend to it now, it can never be attended to in the future. This is one of these things that you cannot leave until the end of the war in order to put it right. The

result of this weakening of the influences upon youthful life is already shown in England by the increase in juvenile offenses, an increase so remarkable that the government has taken action on the matter, and only a few days ago, the Home Secretary, on behalf of the government, convened a conference of people who were interested in the problem, who were associated with organizations connected with their welfare, in order to take counsel as to what was to be done with this evil and how to mitigate it, and proposals are still under consideration.

A part of the problem was connected with what we, in England, call the cinema—the American expression is I believe the “movies.” I believe the cinema in England is an institution we owe to your own great inventiveness. We received it, I believe, in all its perfection, from this country. The cinema, in England (I can not say how far it reflects American conditions in this respect), has become an extraordinary social influence. It is to be found not only in the big cities, but in every small village. I represent, for instance, what is called, in England, a county constituency, which consists of a considerable number of small towns, and especially a considerable number of tiny villages, for the most part built by the coal mine owners, and many of them are miserable affairs. It was thought that the coal pits might not last forever—indeed, it was thought that they might not last very many years. The proprietors of the pits, therefore, did not spend an undue amount in the architectural adornment of the cottages of the miners, nor, indeed, in the internal arrangements. In the villages which I represent and which I know well, and the hospitality of which I have often enjoyed, many of the houses which are occupied by respectable, hard-working people, industrious and thoughtful men and women, consist of only one room. They look very wretched and forlorn places. Well, however, degraded these villages are from the housing standpoint, however poverty-stricken they are, however lacking in all the ordinary evidences of civilization, I can always be sure of finding two social institutions in these villages; I can always be sure of find-

ing a public house, and I can always be sure of finding a cinema imported from America. There is no village so poor as not to do them reverence; and they have a considerable influence upon the imagination of the people. Before the war this was a problem, but during the war it has become a very acute problem, and perhaps it may interest you, in order that you may realize what kind of a social institution the cinema has become in the lives of the children and how eagerly it is sought after by them to know that some of the proprietors of these cinemas, in towns that I know personally, do not charge an ordinary coin for admission, so far as children are concerned. Instead of paying a coin, they present a bottle and that is accepted in payment instead of a coin. The reason for this is that the proprietors of the cinema can get a large attendance of children if they allow them to come in on payment of the bottle. and they can sell the bottles afterward to the manufacturers who require certain kinds of bottles, and it is perfectly easy for the children, in most cases, to beg or borrow a bottle, or obtain one by other means. The result of this, especially during the war, is that magistrates and judges all over the country are tracing the crimes (I use the word "crimes," for they would be so if committed by adults) with which juveniles are charged directly to the influence of the cinemas. The English boy has a dramatic sense—a strong dramatic sense, and I am very glad of it. When he sees these sensational crimes portrayed in these moving pictures, he seems to be filled with a desire to reconstitute these events in his own life. The influence of the cinema has become much more important during the war, because there are not the same influences around the boy, restraining him and guiding him. What I have said about the cinema is only one detail of the subject. The fundamental difficulty is due to the change in the national life, to the change in the home influence, to the weakening of the educational influences, to the use of the boy in industry, and to the fact that he becomes economically independent at so early an age.

Let us take another aspect of the changes in the na-

tion. In the earlier stages of the war, in England the army was made up by voluntary enlistment. I am not going to enter into a discussion of the principles of voluntary enlistment or the principles of conscription, but I want you to remember that the voluntary system of enlistment in England meant (roughly speaking, and subject to many reservations) that those people entered the army whose circumstances permitted them to enter it, who were free to enter it, and things naturally arranged themselves. When, after the first eighteen months of the war, conscription was introduced, there was necessarily a change in the family life, because in so many cases the husband, and sometimes the husband and his sons, are at the war, and the mother of the family may be engaged in some form of industrial work or some form of war work. Now, while that has meant an extraordinary change in the family life of the nation, in the social organization of the nation, it has meant, curiously enough, a great prosperity in the civil part of the nation—a great industrial prosperity. One of the most amazing features of England during the war time, is the fact that, if you went there now as a stranger, you would think that never before had the nation been so prosperous. There is a demand for labor everywhere. Every one is fully employed. Old men, women, young people are getting wages far higher than the wages they could ever obtain before the war. The wife of the soldier, of whom there are millions, receives a separation allowance for her absent husband, and receives, also, an allowance for each of her young children. In addition to this allowance, she may be able to go to work and earn high wages, and perhaps her children, or some of them, may be able to go out and earn high wages, and the result is that many women belonging to the working classes are far wealthier during the war than before the war. The results are seen in all sorts of ways, because when people become suddenly much better off they do not automatically receive the necessary wisdom and prudence in the spending of their new wealth. It is very interesting to observe the directions in which there has been a revival of industry in Eng-

land in the manufacture of things not wanted for the war, but wanted because of the new wealth of sections of the working classes. For instance, I am very well acquainted with a certain city in England known as Birmingham. It is not particularly beautiful, and it is in the center of the Black Country. One of the industries of Birmingham is the manufacture of very cheap jewelry and other goods, much of which, I think has been exported to America and other countries. Before the war, the industry of Birmingham, so far as cheap jewelry was concerned, was rather declining; and the makers of cheap Birmingham jewelry were falling upon evil days. Since the war broke out, there has been a revival in their business, because so many working women have desired to purchase this jewelry out of their large earnings. It has been a feature for women to take little babies into jewelers' shops and insist upon buying a gold ring for the baby's finger in honor of her father at the war. The jewelers have not usually had rings sufficiently small, and have been compelled to pad the ring to keep it on the finger. That is one illustration of the kind of expenditure which is taking place in consequence of the war. Then, again, there is a great revival in the demand for musical instruments. There has been a great revival in the demand for pianos. A piano has not been bought because there was a demand for it from any one who could play. It has been bought, in some cases, by women who could not play it, even when no one in the household could play it, but it was supposed to be a desirable and respectable form of investment, and so the piano has been bought out of the large earnings during the war time. It is of no use when bought, but it is felt to be the proper thing to buy. These instances are instructive to us as showing not only how great is the prosperity owing to the high wages, but showing that the wages are spent, sometimes in a way that does not show wisdom or prudence. There is no reason to be surprised at that, for what takes place is a perfectly natural thing and precisely what one would expect all the world over.

I have given you these indications of the changes in

English life, which are forced upon the nation by the facts of the war. There are other changes that are not so easy to describe—the more subtle changes; changes in thought; changes in the way people look at religion; new views that people have of fundamental problems; and I should be acting unfairly if I represented to you that in England we were all of one mind, even during the war, on these questions. The war has not yet caused us to see all things alike. There is every phase of difference of opinion between us, and those differences especially develop when we attempt to think of the problems of the future, of the settlement of the national life after the war, and of international problems after the war. Of course, war time is not a time when a democracy flourishes. You cannot expect to find, in war time, the free expression of a democratic people—at least, if you expect it, you do not find it. War does not work out like that; but although public opinion may not be encouraged, may even be suppressed, as it always is in every belligerent country during war, it yet exists. It is being made. It is undergoing profound changes; and one day it will find full expression. Let me give you one example. The governments of all the belligerent allied countries have met together, through their representatives, to consider their national policies after the war from the standpoint of the trade of each nation, and the program has been drawn up which is known as the Economic Pact of Paris. That policy foreshadows a change, so far as England is concerned, in her system of free trade. Therefore, you might easily be deceived into thinking that England had decided to give up free trade at the end of the war. I do not think that is true. I think you would find that before any departure from free trade was agreed to by the English nation, there would be a long controversy indeed, and I am doubtful if free trade would be departed from. I would remind you that the great majority of the English nation before the war was in favour of her historic policy of free trade, and there has been no automatic surrender of those beliefs during the war, as will be shown, I think, at the end of the war; and this question is especially interesting

and important because it leads on to what I want to say in conclusion—the relation of the national problems in England to international problems.

This question of free trade for England, while I suppose it is first a national question, is also an international question, because there are many of us who believe that if, at the settlement, we should, in order to punish our present enemies, build up a tariff wall against the rest of the world, it would tend to sever us not only from our present enemies, but also from the great neutral nations of the world, and there is in England, a great body of progressive and enlightened opinion, which still holds to the faith that it expressed before the war; that faith I must describe as the international faith. That great body of opinion has recently been given expression to by Lord Bryce, a man who, I am sure, is known and trusted in America. Lord Bryce has reminded my countrymen that the settlement of this war must not be founded upon the desire for revenge, or upon passion and hatred. He has reminded my countrymen that the problem before us as a nation at the end of the war is how to make this the last war, how to build up not only the national life, but the international life, and how to remove forever the scourge of war from the menace of mankind; and I entirely agree, if I may say so, that that is the problem which will be before us at the end of the war. We shall have failed if, in the settlement that we hope to bring about, we should only perpetuate this present war. Let me add this with regard to the attitude of America. I desire to say this because, during the short time that I have been in America, I have so often been asked whether it is not true that throughout England there are feelings of intense anger, disappointment, and irritation at the attitude of the United States of America. The question is so frequently asked me that I reluctantly believe that the belief must be generally held in America. I want to say, quite candidly, that I believe that view to be quite untrue, quite lacking in any substantial basis. It is true that we have, in England, in the days of war as in the days of peace, a sensational section of the press.

That was its character in the days of peace, and it has not altered its character in the days of war. It is a great minority of the press, and it does not represent any section of the British public. Throughout the British nation, there is, I sincerely believe, a feeling of the deepest respect and affection for the American nation. There is, I believe, the desire to grow closer and closer in their relationship with the American people. It is an ideal that I hope will one day be achieved, that the English-speaking people will come closer together; and when I say that, I am not thinking of an alliance offensive to other nations; I am simply speaking of the English and American nations using their great inheritance in order to secure the peace of the world. I remember with gratitude that during the war the one great constructive suggestion made in any country for the help of the belligerent world has been in America—the proposal of the league of nations to secure the peace of the world. I do not inquire whether that in itself is adequate, and I do not say it is not open to many criticisms, but I do say that it has the great value of being a constructive proposal, that it knows the end it seeks to achieve, and it makes at least tentative suggestions to secure that end. I say that America, by giving such constructive proposals, is doing a great service to the world, and that what the whole world now wants is the wisdom of America, the thought of America, expressed in the form of constructive suggestion. I believe, if I may say so with great humility, that there is before the American nation today an opportunity that comes not once in the history of a nation, but only once, perhaps, in the history of a world. It is no less than the opportunity that America has, from her position of unmistakable moral power and from her position of detachment from the war now raging, to give the belligerent world the fruits of her own wisdom, not only to help the belligerent world, it may be, to peace in this struggle, but to help the whole world, belligerent and neutral alike, so to organize the international life, so to set up final courts of arbitration, so to assist in the change of outlook in the nations of the world, as to make war forever



impossible and secure the international brotherhood of the world, and help forward the dawn of that day,—I wish that we could feel that we saw it today above the hill tops of time,—when men shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and learn war no more.

## PRESIDENT WILSON'S LACK OF POLICY IN MEXICO

[The author of this article is an American of high standing and reputation who has had intimate knowledge of Mexican conditions from the days of Dias to the present. Due to his Mexican connections it seems unwise to have his name appear at this time.—Errors.]

Strictly speaking President Wilson has had no definite constructive Mexican policy. His whole course in dealing with Mexico has been characterized by lack of policy, by vacillation, inconsistency and harmful meddling. Apparently oblivious to the gravity of the situation, he has preferred to drift on the current of events, shifting his position to meet the changing needs of the hour and to "trust to luck" that all might turn out well, rather than adopt a settled policy based upon a full comprehension of the facts of the situation. Deliberately he has closed his eyes to the facts or, what is worse, has sought to bend those facts that have been thrust upon him by the development of events to fit a preconceived theory. But the chief vice of his Mexican performance lies in the fact that he has *talked* one way and *acted* another. It is this practice that has caused friends to doubt his sincerity and strangers to suspect him of duplicity and double dealing. Protesting all the while that the affairs of Mexico were not our business or the business of any other foreign power, and constantly asserting that he would not interfere in the affairs of that country or permit anyone else to interfere, he has in fact and in truth been interfering continuously since he entered the presidency, and to no useful purpose. The records show this. In his famous Indianapolis speech, in which he defined his attitude towards Mexico, he said:

It is none of my business, and none of your business, how long they (the Mexicans) take in determining who shall be their governors or what their government shall be. It is none of your business, and none of my business, how they go about the busi-

ness. It is theirs. The country is theirs. The government is theirs. And so far as my influence goes, while I am President, nobody shall interfere with them.

### FIRST ACT OF INTERFERENCE

Notwithstanding this and numerous other similar utterances, President Wilson began his administration by interfering in Mexican affairs for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Victoriana Huerta. Raising the slogan "Huerta must go," he first undertook to do this by peaceful means and to that end sent John Lind on a diplomatic mission to persuade General Huerta to renounce the presidency. Mr. Lind exhorted General Huerta to resign, offering as an inducement that the United States would render Mexico financial aid (a thing which neither he nor President Wilson had any constitutional right to do) and finally went so far as to serve notice on him that the Washington government would not consent to his becoming a candidate for the presidency at the coming elections. This unprecedented act of interference was resented by all Mexicans, Huertistas and Carranzistas alike. It betrayed President Wilson's lack of understanding of the Mexican character and of the elemental facts which underlay the problem with which he was dealing, filled his friends with mortification and made himself the laughing stock of foreign nations. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the spectacle of the President of the United States attempting to remove from the presidency of Mexico by means of moral suasion an old Indian who had waded through treason and assassination to that position. The Lind mission of course was a great failure and a greater blunder.

### SECOND ACT OF INTERFERENCE

President Wilson's second act of interference was the blockading of the city of Vera Cruz, Mexico's principal seaport, by our fleet and the capture of that city by our marines and soldiers. This cost the United States the lives of nineteen American seamen and sixteen millions of treas-

ure. It cost Mexico the lives of several hundred of her citizens. This was nothing short of an act of war. It was armed intervention. It was done ostensibly to force the individual Huerta, whom President Wilson would not recognize as president of the de facto government of Mexico, to salute the American flag in reparation for an offense committed against the dignity of the United States by some of Huerta's soldiers at the city of Tampico. The flag was not saluted and had it been, President Wilson, in accordance with international usage, would have been obliged to return the salute and thus accord Huerta the official recognition he had resolved to withhold from him. In view of the foregoing facts, it can hardly be said that the reason given by President Wilson for the Vera Cruz expedition was such as to commend itself to the good judgment of mankind. But whatever he might have had in mind, there can be no dispute about the fact that the act itself was nothing short of intervention by armed force in Mexico, and this at the very time when he was insisting that he would never interfere or permit anyone else to interfere in the affairs of that country.

### THIRD ACT OF INTERFERENCE

President Wilson interfered a third time in Mexican affairs when, during the Villa revolution, he threw the moral influence of the Washington government in favor of Villa and against Carranza. When Carranza, with the aid of President Wilson, had overthrown Huerta, it was clear to all who knew the situation, that Carranza was menaced by a revolt in his own ranks, headed by Villa. President Wilson was notified of this fact at the time and was urged to use his influence to prevent Villa and the men who were behind him from taking this step. The revolt came. Mr. Wilson declined to interfere on the ground that the quarrel was a domestic one and one to be settled by the parties themselves and announced he would take no part in it. Within four weeks after he had made this announcement, the moral influence of the Wilson administration was

thrown unequivocally in favor of the Villa faction and against Carranza and continued to be so exerted until Villa was defeated by Obregon at the battle of Celaya. Here is where the President's Mexican policy fell down.

It was the Villa revolution that destroyed Mexico. It was the most disastrous revolution, both from the standpoint of loss of life and property, that Mexico ever experienced. It should have been prevented. It was in President Wilson's power to do this. If immediately after he and Carranza had overthrown Huerta Mr. Wilson had recognized Carranza promptly and rendered him substantial aid, the Villa revolution would not have happened. This was the obvious thing to have done and President Wilson's friends, both in Mexico and the United States, expected him to do it. They were amazed when the President decided to identify his administration with a man who for fifteen years had been an open, notorious and professional bandit and murderer, and who was such at the time the President gave him his support. When Mr. Wilson did this, he became responsible for the movement which broke down the Constitutionalist cause, a cause which he started out to support, thus destroying his own Mexican policy.

When the Villa revolution ended in failure Mexico was in desolation, and the prestige of the Washington government in that country was gone. Carranza was victorious and afterwards forced recognition from the Washington government, but it came too late. The Villa revolution weakened Carranza and left him incapable of coping with the situation, for the reason that he could not borrow the necessary money to establish peace and rehabilitate his country. President Wilson's policy of vacillation and inconsistency not only destroyed the prestige of his administration in Mexico, but also its prestige in the financial circles throughout the world to which Carranza must of necessity look for the necessary funds for the rehabilitation of Mexico. No financiers anywhere will extend credit to the Carranza government so long as it is backed up by a Washington government with such a vacillating, hesitating and inconsistent policy.

## FOURTH ACT OF INTERFERENCE

In June, 1915, Mr. Wilson issued an official warning to General Carranza, who at that time had triumphed over Villa, to the effect that the state of anarchy which then existed in that country would not be tolerated longer by his government and in this dispatch the following language was used: "The country is without a government and the people are starving." He served notice on Carranza that unless he promptly put an end to anarchy and established a government in Mexico, the Washington government would be forced to take such steps. No heed was given to this warning. For the first time in our history the moral influence of the government of the United States in the affairs of Mexico counted for nothing. The truth is that after our alliance with the bandit Villa the moral influence of our government in Mexican affairs was a thing of the past. For nearly a century this influence had been the controlling factor in Mexican politics. It had driven the forces of Napoleon out of the country and put Juarez in power. It had sustained Diaz in power for thirty-five years and had finally brought about his overthrow. It was responsible for the success of the Madero revolution and the placing of Madero at the head of the Mexican government, and also contributed to his downfall. It had overthrown Huerta. But after it had been used in support of the bandit Villa, its force was gone. The American flag had become an object of derision and contempt.

The time finally came when President Wilson felt that he had to act. And what did he do? He asked the A. B. C. Powers to join him in intervening in Mexico to the extent of calling the heads of the various warring factions into a conference for the purpose of composing their differences and forming a government. In this call the President clearly intimated that no one who did not respond and join in this conference would receive consideration by him in dealing with Mexico in the future. The result was that Villa and Zapata and a few other bandit chiefs responded to the call, and the world witnessed the humiliating spec-

tacle of the government of the United States counseling and conferring, on the subject of its future policy in Mexico, with men who all their lives had been open, notorious and professional bandits and murderers, and who at the time the conference was called were bandits and murderers still. Only one of the factional leaders refused to join this conference, and within six weeks after the conference was held, this man, who was none other than Carranza, was recognized by President Wilson as the head of the *de facto* government of Mexico.

#### FIFTH ACT OF INTERFERENCE

Again, after the Columbus, New Mexico, massacre, President Wilson intervened in Mexico by force of arms and again to no purpose, except a very bad one. No situation had confronted the American nation during its whole history more extraordinary than the one presented by this occurrence. Villa had violated the sovereignty of the United States and massacred a large number of its citizens deliberately and without cause, yet this crime of Villa's was slight in comparison with the offense which President Wilson committed against the life of the nation by the manner in which he handled this occurrence. The facts are these: Villa, after President Wilson had deserted him and thrown his support to their common foe Carranza, swore vengeance against all Americans who might cross his path. Pursuant to this resolution, he murdered Americans in Mexico wherever he found them. On one occasion at Santa Ysabel in the State of Chihuahua, in January, 1915, one of his bands massacred in the most horrifying and barbaric manner imaginable seventeen American engineers and mining men. Not content with this, he resolved to transfer the scene of his depredations to the American soil and so announced it. Pursuant to this resolution he entered the State of New Mexico and massacred thirty-three American citizens of the town of Columbus. When this occurred, the feeling was general throughout the world that the event marked in a most conclusive way the

final breakdown of the Carranza government and it was also felt that President Wilson would so regard it and at last would meet the Mexican situation squarely. Had he done this and intervened in Mexico by force of arms for the purpose of establishing peace throughout the entire country and setting up a stable government (having first given Carranza a reasonable time in which to capture and execute Villa and his band), such a step would have been approved by all the world and would have commended itself to Carranza himself. Carranza and his associates would have recognized that if they failed to put an end to such depredations forthwith, they would thereby forfeit their right to rule Mexico. The feeling was universal that if Carranza failed to meet the above demand, President Wilson would take the following position with him:

That the government of United States as well as a number of governments of Latin America and of Europe had recognized him as the head of the de facto government of Mexico;

That he had been given an opportunity to establish peace and stable government in that country and had failed;

That he was neither able to protect his own citizens or the citizens of any foreign power domiciled in his country;

That he was no longer able to perform any of the duties imposed upon him by his treaties with foreign nations or to perform any obligation imposed upon his government by reason of its membership in the family of nations;

That he was no longer able to perform any domestic obligation to his own people or to maintain law and order within his own territory;

In short, that his government had collapsed utterly, that Mexico was in anarchy and her people were starving;

That in view of these facts it was incumbent upon the government of the United States in the performance of its obligation to the Mexican people as a friendly neighbor, in the performance of its obligation to those Americans who were domiciled, owning property and doing business in Mexico under the protection of treaty guarantees, and to



Americans who dwelt along the Mexican border, in the performance of its obligation to foreign powers which the government of the United States would not permit, by reason of the existence of the Monroe Doctrine, to enter Mexico and protect their nationals domiciled in that country in the only adequate manner open to them, namely by setting up a government under which every one could live and be protected—that in view of these facts the Washington government had resolved in the interest of humanity and civilization and as a matter of international equity and fair dealing to enter Mexico by force of arms for the purpose (1) of establishing peace, (2) of setting up a stable government, and (3) of retiring and returning the government and the country in its entirety to the Mexican people after peace and order had been restored.

Far from taking such a course, President Wilson did not even undertake to hold Carranza responsible for this crime against the sovereignty of the American nation. He treated the massacre as an unfortunate occurrence on the Mexican border and proceeded to hold the bandit Villa responsible for it. He smothered the flame of indignation which blazed up from the spirit of the American people at the commission of this crime. He minimized the importance of the occurrence and, raising the slogan "Villa dead or alive," organized a punitive expedition to be sent into Mexico for the sole purpose of apprehending and executing Villa and his band. He assured Carranza that he did not mean to violate the sovereignty of Mexico and proceeded to do this in the most fundamental manner possible. His so-called punitive expedition was nothing more or less than the invasion of Mexican territory with a large part of our regular army on an enterprise which involved the policing of a large portion of Mexican territory for an indefinite period of time. This expedition was doomed to failure in advance and the fact was so recognized by everyone who was familiar with Mexican conditions. It was also calculated to involve the nation in a war with Carranza in which our position would be untenable and indefensible. It was clear to everyone familiar with conditions in Mexico

that Carranza could not tolerate the existence of American troops on Mexican soil under the circumstances for a long period of time without confessing his impotency to deal with the situation, which would of necessity bring about his downfall. The net results were those which were anticipated at the time. Our troops have been in Mexico for many months. Many lives have been sacrificed. Over a hundred millions of treasure has been spent. Villa has not been apprehended. Carranza has ordered our army out of the country and the two nations are now facing a catastrophe of unprecedented gravity.

By minimizing the gravity of the Columbus massacre President Wilson has infused into the spirit of the American people a sense of indifference to and lack of appreciation of the dignity and honor of their country. This course is calculated to teach our people tamely to submit to any insult however grave which may be offered to the nation. The benumbing and paralyzing influence of such a policy upon the patriotic sensibility and spirit of the nation is incalculable. It teaches that the value of American lives is nothing, that the honor and dignity of the nation are nothing. If this policy is continued, when a great crisis does arise, as surely it will in the future history of the country, the government will call in vain upon its citizens for aid. The nation is suffering from a lack of fighting spirit at the present time. After five months of recruiting to get an "immediate increase" of 20,000 men for the army the actual strength of the establishment is today less than the authorized strength on July 1, 1915. Who would fight for the nation under such hesitating, vacillating and spiritless leadership as it now has! No language is strong enough to contain the condemnation which arises in the hearts of all patriotic Americans at the manner in which President Wilson has conducted the affairs of the nation in connection with the Columbus, New Mexico, massacre. It is not too much to say his present policy, if persisted in, will destroy the morale of our army and deal a damaging blow to the spirit of the people and the life of the nation.

## PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS DOMICILED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

From the beginning of his administration President Wilson has apparently had no appreciation of the duty which the government of the United States owes to its citizens domiciled and engaged in business in foreign countries under the protection of treaty rights. This has been evidenced on numerous occasions when Americans domiciled in Mexico applied to the Washington government for relief. These Americans were invariably met with such questions: "What are you doing in Mexico?" "Why do you not come home?" They were given to understand that the administration regarded them as concession hunters and adventurers and not entitled to the protection of the Washington government. In fact President Wilson went so far as to issue orders on a number of occasions directing Americans to leave their possessions in Mexico and return to the United States. The effect of this attitude on the Mexicans was immediate and far-reaching. The lives and property of Americans were destroyed by bandits and revolutionary factions without let or hindrance. This policy not only violated the pledges of the Democratic platform upon which President Wilson went into power, together with the traditions and honor of the United States which required it to protect its citizens domiciled in foreign countries at all times, but its demoralizing influence upon the Mexican people themselves was indescribable. Had President Wilson accorded to the Americans domiciled in Mexico the protection to which they were entitled under the rules of international law and under the pledges of the government, it would have had a strong, sustaining and restraining influence upon the Mexican government itself. During the Diaz administration our government vigorously enforced the protection of the lives of all of its citizens domiciled in Mexico, together with that of their property. This policy likewise brought protection to the lives and properties of all foreigners living in Mexico. By virtue of this policy President Diaz was forced to devote a large portion

of his time and energy to maintaining peace throughout his country to the end that he might not be involved in difficulties with foreign nations and especially with the United States. The moral aid of such a policy to President Diaz himself was great. When this restraining influence was removed by President Wilson's administration, the Mexican people immediately lapsed into chronic revolution and anarchy. The feeling is general among those who know Mexico best, that had President Wilson met the situation squarely and vigorously immediately after he entered office by affording absolute protection to Americans domiciled and doing business in Mexico, not only would he have saved the lives and property of such citizens from destruction, but he would have rendered the Mexican government itself a very substantial aid.

#### OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Nor has President Wilson apparently taken into consideration the obligations imposed upon this nation by the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine for a period of ninety-three years. It is absurd to contend that we can enjoy the benefits flowing from the enforcement of that doctrine and escape the responsibilities which such a course imposes upon us. The sooner these responsibilities are recognized and met by the government of the United States, the better it will be for our government and for all who are concerned with its future operations on this hemisphere.

Can it be contended that it is permissible for the government of the United States to say to Mexico that it cannot alienate any portion of its territory to foreign powers and to say to foreign powers that they cannot acquire any portion of the territory of Mexico without assuming the consequences and responsibilities of such a position? This position in its last analysis means that in international affairs the ultimate sovereignty over Mexico is lodged in the Washington government. "Today," declared Richard Olney, "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it

confines its interposition." This principle has been recognized in our dealing with Santa Domingo and Hayti, and with some of the Central American republics. But hitherto it has not been publicly recognized by the present administration in so far as it is applicable to Mexico. In the light of these facts it would appear that President Wilson's whole thesis with reference to our attitude towards Mexico is wrong and always has been wrong. His contention that the United States has no political responsibilities in Mexico cannot be sustained in the light of historical facts. The chancelleries of the world assume and have a right to assume that we must acknowledge and meet the responsibilities incident to the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine or we must abandon it.

It thus appears that President Wilson's course in dealing with the Mexican situation since his advent to power has been characterized by lack of definite policy, by vacillation, inconsistency and harmful meddling and has resulted in disaster to the interests of both countries. It is not too much to say that in a large measure it has been responsible for the complete collapse of organized government in Mexico, for the destruction of hundreds of lives of Americans and other foreign subjects domiciled in that country under the protection of treaty rights, for benumbing and paralyzing the national spirit of the American people, and that it has seriously impaired throughout the world the century-old reputation of the government of the United States for frankness and square dealing in its intercourse with foreign nations.

## REACTION OF THE WAR UPON ISLAM

*By James L. Barton, LL.D., Foreign Secretary of the American Board for Foreign Missions; formerly President of Euphrates College, Harpot*

The effect of the war upon different nations and countries will necessarily be far-reaching and fundamental. Geographies will be revised and new alignments between the leading powers will be inevitable. No political changes however great and startling can equal in significance those that the war is bringing about in the realm of religion. At first glance this may not be wholly apparent. We have been so absorbed with the diplomatic and national phases of the war that little thought has been given to those other questions whose relations to the horrors of a world conflict seem so remote. Two religions, representing together a following numbering nearly if not quite one-half of the population of the world, are chiefly concerned: These are Christianity and Islam. The effect upon the one differs greatly from the effect upon the other.

We all distinctly recall the question that was heard upon every side when the war had been thoroughly launched and we began to realize its significance: Has Christianity failed? This was asked not only in countries not Christian and by those who were no friends of Christianity, but in the very citadels and historic centers of the Christian church and by those who for decades had been conspicuous Christian leaders. Christian and non-Christian, believers in Christianity and its opponents, suggested, by inquiry, the failure of Christianity because it did not prevent the conflict. It is no part of our purpose to answer this question, but only to call attention to the significance of its asking. When before in all the history of wars—civil, domestic or international—has anyone ventured to suggest that Christianity might have prevented war? Wars have been taken for

granted and Christianity has been taken for granted, two quite separate ideas, and few if any have attempted to recognize the existence of any possible relations between them. But now, from widely separate portions of the globe, and put by people of vastly different points of view, simultaneously the inquiry is made as to how it comes about that Christianity did not prevent this deadly clash of nations. This fact shows conclusively that there has come to exist, through some means that we need not here discuss, a belief that Christianity possesses that which, if properly applied, ought to have intervened. It is a revelation that large numbers are of the opinion that there is a moral and religious force in Christianity that, if widely accepted and wisely applied, would make war of this character impossible. In a word, the war has caused the world to recognize that Christianity is a religion that has a national and international mission and that it will not come to its own and accomplish its purpose until it puts the stamp of brotherhood upon the national life of the entire world. The war has discovered to us and the world our failure hitherto to grasp the national mission of our religion.

The effect of the war upon Christianity is to bring to the front the fact that in Christianity there exists a moral and religious force capable of cementing the nations into a mighty brotherhood into which no unholy ambition for conquest or unholy race prejudice shall be permitted to disturb permanent order and lasting peace.

This subject is too far-reaching to be discussed within the limits of this article, the chief purpose of which is to give emphasis to the effect of the war upon Mohammedanism, a phase of the subject little understood but of vital significance to the 230,000,000 Moslems in the world and of striking interest to all Christians.

Mohammedanism is probably less understood than any other religion. We are confused by the nomenclature of Islam and the variety of names which the followers of Mahomet bear in different countries. Repeatedly from the beginning of Islam and even today, race names are employed to designate religious adherents. The early Moslems

were called Arabs whether they were of that race or were Jews who had embraced Islam. In Spain Mohammedans were called Saracens as they were also designated in Palestine and Syria at the time of the Crusades. In India the Mohammedan Empire bore the name Mogul or Mongol. In Russia Moslems today are called Tartars; in Mindanao in the Philippine Islands they are called Moros; and in Turkey they bear the name Turk, quite without regard to the race to which they belong. This diversity of name in different countries to designate the followers of one religion, is necessarily confusing and may have given a false impression to many. The point for us constantly to bear in mind is that in spite of the diversity of name and race, all who profess belief in Islam are bound together by bonds that are stronger than those which unite most co-religionists.

To return again to the war and its effect upon Islam, we are confronted with the fact that the final outcome of the war will probably be more disastrous to Mohammedanism than to any or all other religions. It is upon Mohammedanism that the most startling effect has already been produced, while still more fundamental changes are threatening. We must bear in mind in the consideration of this subject that from the days of Mohammed until the present time Mohammedanism has not only been a religion but it has aspired to be a theocracy. Mohammed was not only the religious head of all who accepted him as the divine prophet of God, but he was the civil and military head as well of all his followers. The various caliphs who have claimed to be his successors upon earth have been both religious and civil rulers, commanding large military forces and exercising supreme civil power. The caliphs have been autocrats of the highest type, basing their civil authority upon their religious rights and responsibilities.

Another point to be borne in mind is the fact that one of the most prominent elements of strength in Mohammedanism, and that about which they have spoken with the greatest frequency, and the point which they have used the most widely in promoting their faith, is their expectation of ultimate control, as a religion and as a political power, of all the



nations of the world. Mohammedans have freely recognized that at present they do not hold a superior place among the nations, although at the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Ottoman Empire, over which ruled the boasted Caliph of Islam, was the largest, strongest and most feared of any empire on the face of the earth.

In promoting Mohammedanism among pagan tribes and in holding up its supremacy to followers of other religions with whom Mohammedans came in contact, the ideal of the final triumph of Islam as the one conquering religion, with religious and civil power, has been constantly kept to the front. Mohammedans have believed that they would one day, through divine intervention, conquer and rule all the races of the earth, and that upon the throne of the nations was to sit the supreme, unconquerable, all-powerful Caliph of Islam. The humblest negro of Central Africa who has become a Mohammedan has been taught to think of himself as an integral part of a conquering world power.

In addition to the expectation of world conquest is their boast of religious unity. Christianity has been held in contempt by them because of its divisions. They have observed the gulf existing between Catholics and Protestants and the breaking up of Protestantism into many different sects, and have contrasted this divided state of Christendom with the unity of Islam. They have instanced their own simple creed, their one universally accepted, authoritative book, their acknowledged Prophet, and their religious principles respecting a holy war, and have been able to maintain that Mohammedanism is a united force operating through 230,000,000 of believers abroad in the world. They have claimed that not only are they able to live together in harmony but that they are ready to join forces in the resistance of any common enemy and, if need be, to die to the last man for the defense of their faith.

It is true that this unity has not been fully realized in actual practice, even under the leadership of the great caliphs and when the Ottoman Empire was the greatest and most mighty empire on earth. This fact was recognized by Abdul Hamid II, who made supreme effort to weld together

the different Mohammedan elements and races into a moral, religious and even organic unity. Pilgrimages to Mecca and Constantinople were conspicuously encouraged, and the pilgrim who visited the Bosphorus and was given audience with one who claimed to be the Great Caliph, returned to his home loaded with royal presents, forever thereafter to proclaim the magnificence of the Turkish Empire, and especially of Abdul Hamid, and to preach the unity of Mohammedanism. The Sultan was most active in sending royal expeditions in the interests of the unity of Islam to the remotest Moslem centers, and no endeavor was spared to impress upon all the followers of Mohammed the essential oneness of their religion and its ultimate triumph.

As an illustration of the success of this endeavor of Abdul Hamid, we have but to refer to the fact that when the United States was negotiating with the Mohammedan Moros of the Philippine Islands the negotiations were carried on at Constantinople by the United States Ambassador with Abdul Hamid, and the arrangements were there completed by which the Moros recognized the sovereignty of the United States. These efforts at Moslem centralization became so conspicuous that the expression, "pan-Islamism," was widely used in discussing what seemed to be a great revival of Mohammedanism. This movement caused no little alarm in the chancelleries of Europe because of the fear engendered that a united Islam might become an open menace to civilization. England was especially disturbed because of the eighty million Mohammedans in India and Egypt.

The decisive battles of Islam reported in history have been hitherto battles fought between Mohammedans and the armies of Christian rulers. The first of these is the battle of Tours, when the Saracens of Spain crossed the Pyrenees, in the eighth century, and attempted to conquer in the name of the Prophet, the capitals of Europe. The defeat of the Saracen forces by the troops of Charles Martel marked the first reverse of Islam in its triumphal march to victory. Through this victory the Moslem tide was turned again southward, until it finally swept over the Pyrenees and across Spain into Africa, and that part of Europe was freed from

Moslem rule. Centuries later, or in 1529, Suleiman the Conqueror, who brought Ottoman rule to the zenith of its power, sent his triumphal army to the north and west until they were halted before the walls of Vienna. Here the Christian forces again turned back the tide of Mohammedanism from sweeping over Europe, but in 1693, under Mohammed IV, the last and final concerted attempt to overthrow the forces of Christianity and plant Mohammedanism in the heart of Europe was again defeated. The would-be Mohammedan conquerors were driven back, and gradually one by one the conquered provinces of Hungary were restored to their Christian governments. From that time to the present there has been almost a continuous recession of the political forces of Mohammedanism. Roumania, Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina were released from the power of Turkey. North Africa, country by country, has become freed from Moslem rule. Persia, even, no longer remains an independent Mohammedan power; and, last of all, Egypt has completely thrown off the yoke of Turkey and come under Christian rule.

In spite of these reverses, the imperial spirit of the Mohammedans was not broken. They still dreamed of the day when under some marvelous intervention of Allah the Christian nations would be severely punished for their resistance to the approach of Islam and Moslem sway would be re-established not only over the lost provinces but over the entire world. This dream and this hope has buoyed up the spirit of Islam and strengthened the arm of the followers of Mohammed even down to the outbreak of the present war. In October, two years ago, Turkey became one of the belligerent powers in the great European war under the recognized leadership of Germany and Austria. This step called out protests from many leading Mohammedans in Turkey as well as in India, although it did not cause immediate disruption. At the same time Mohammedan troops from India, Egypt and Morocco were fighting shoulder to shoulder with Christians on the plains of France. This is the first time in history that Turkey has been involved in a great international war as an ally of Christian nations. In the

Crimean war Turkey was defended by Christian nations against Russia.

The Mohammedans in Russia showed sympathy with Russia, giving her substantial aid, although she was the open enemy of Turkey. Even up to this stage of the war Mohammedanism had become hopelessly divided.

In November, 1915, it was decided to put to the supreme test the final resorts of Islam, namely a call for a holy war. This was a bold step to take in view of the already divided sentiment so conspicuously exhibited in France, Russia and Egypt. Under the direction of the Sheik-ul-Islam, at Constantinople, the High Priest of Islam for the Ottoman Empire, if not for the whole Mohammedan world, solemnly and formally, was read a fetva in the Mosque of the Conqueror at Constantinople calling upon the Mohammedans of the world to rise in a holy war against all enemies of Islam. In order to give this final test the fullest authority, on the following day the Sultan himself, as the Caliph of Islam, the Shadow of God on earth, the successor of Mohammed, repeated and emphasized the call, at the same time addressing his choicest body of Turkish troops and exhorting them and all Mohammedans to the ends of the earth to be loyal to their faith and to be ready to give themselves even to the last drop of their blood in its defense.

There has long been a fear, among the nations of Europe especially and even beyond, that whenever such a call for a holy war should go forth there would be a general response among the entire body of Mohammedans throughout the length and breadth of the earth. Since the day of Mohammed no such test had been applied, but according to Moslem belief, as recorded in the Koran and as repeatedly asserted in tradition and in history, it would be impossible for any Mohammedan to retain his position as a true believer and fail to respond with the offering of his life for the defense of his religion.

Quite contrary to expectation, no unusual display of fanaticism or of religious or political agitation followed even in Constantinople. From many different parts of Turkey protests were directed against what was considered an un-

holy alliance between the government of the caliph and Christian nations, especially since Turkey was not attacked and there appeared no possibility of gain on the part of the Ottoman government even should they be victorious; while, on the other hand, there was every possibility of serious loss. The Mohammedans of India held mass meetings of protest, and these protests were voiced in long telegraphic messages to the Sultan of Turkey. At the same time, messages of loyalty to Great Britain were sent from India and from Egypt. Abyssinia and Morocco severely criticised the alliance of the Ottoman Empire with Christian nations and refused to respond. And thus it was that the only call for a general holy war ever issued by the highest authority in Islam utterly failed of its purpose, resulting in a hopeless division among Mohammedans.

Persia showed marks of disloyalty, and as a final proof of the seriousness of the rupture, the leading tribes of Arabia united in open rebellion against the boasted Caliph at Constantinople. They took possession of the sacred shrines of Islam, Mecca and Medina, which through all Moslem history have been under the special care and protection of the Caliph and during the last 500 years under the Sultan of Turkey. In a message recently sent to the Sultan of Turkey, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, chief magistrate of the Holy City, a definite rupture between the Mohammedans of Arabia and the government of Turkey was definitely announced. The present leaders in Turkey by name are severely condemned for drawing Turkey into this fatal war. The proclamation ends with the statement, "God has opened the way to independence and freedom for us. Our independence is complete and absolute. Our aim is the preservation of Islam."

In the Ottoman Empire itself it is reported upon what seems to be unquestioned authority that not more than 20 per cent of the Mohammedans are in sympathy with Turkey's part in the present war or with the existing administration; the 80 per cent deprecate the entrance of Turkey into this conflict and the formation of an alliance that has already caused irreparable disaster to their holy religion,

to say nothing of the physical ruin it has brought upon their country. To make perfectly clear the extent of the disruption which this war has produced in the Moslem world we here quote a few passages from Mohammedan sources bearing upon the subject.

When Turkey joined Germany in the war the Aga Khan, speaking as the head of the Moslems in India, said:

Turkey was the trustee of Islam, and the whole world was content to let her hold our holy cities in her keeping. Now that Turkey has so disastrously shown herself a tool in German hands she has not only ruined herself but has lost her position as trustee of Islam, and evil will overtake her.

A Zanzibar Arabic paper recently said:

The pillars of the East are tottering, its thrones are being destroyed, its power is being shattered, and its supremacy is being obliterated. The Moslem world is divided against itself and everyone is busied with his own private interests. Brother no longer listens to the cry of brother. . . . What has befallen the Moslem world from their poisonous breath is due to the divisions of the Moslem world, their mutual hatred, and the divisions in their kingdoms. In this way they have lost the whole world, and their sickness is incurable.

One of the most influential Moslem daily papers published in Cairo, Egypt, says:

The interfering on the part of Turkey in the present conflict was an uncalled-for foolishness, and by her action Turkey has forfeited her right to the Caliphate. Nor is Turkey's claim to the Caliphate justifiable. Why should the Turk, that old Mongolian descendant of Othman, usurp the Caliphate from the hands of the true descendants and successors of Mohammed? Besides, Turkey's policy for several decades has been detrimental to Islam, and in many cases the Constantinople government has shown a hostile spirit to Mohammedans themselves, not to say anything of her ill treatment of Christians.

A Druse member of the Turkish Parliament wrote an article in one of the leading Mohammedan papers, the *Esh-Sha'ab*, in which he said: "Moslems have no hope except that the nations of Christendom shall rise against each other."

The leading Sheiks and dignitaries of Morocco recently

published a pamphlet called *The Moslem Verdict*, which has been widely circulated through North Africa. Among other significant things this pamphlet says:

The deplorable state in which the Ottoman Empire finds herself today is really due to the unsound policy of the Young Turks, who have brought the empire to the verge of ruin. The internal unrest and poverty was enhanced by the Young Turks' casting in their lot with the Germans and staking the heritage of those glorious ancestors who built up the Turkish Empire. This indeed is a great crime. But how could Turkey avoid losing her honor and independence when Anwar Pasha is nothing but an instrument in the hands of Emperor William, blindly obeying his commands, while the entire Turkish army is under the control of German officers? Even the religious institutions are now in the hands of the Germans! This particular crime, committed by the Young Turks in broad daylight, has aroused indignant protest throughout the Moslem world. Moslems have unanimously condemned this shameful conduct, and have raised their voices in India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Central Africa, and other Mohammedan countries, censuring those wretched persons who are precipitating their country into an abyss of sure destruction. Even Moslems in Turkey have striven to oppose them, for there are those in Turkey who are genuine Moslems, of noble sentiments and who have the real welfare of Islam at heart, notwithstanding the consternation and terror to which they have been subjected by Anwar Pasha and his confederates. Those true Moslems disapprove of this war which was kindled by Germany, and declare openly their friendliness to France, England and Russia. The Moslems in the French colonies in Africa have also availed themselves of this opportunity to express their sincere love and loyalty to France. *Muftis*, judges, *sheikhs*, and *'Ulema*, well acquainted with the Mohammedan law and the precepts of true Islam, not to mention the chiefs, dignitaries and even petty farmers, have expressed what their hearts feel towards France. We may refer to the declarations coming from the great chiefs of the Sufi sects, and published as an appendix to H. M. the Sultan of Morocco's declaration and that of the Bey of Tunis. Such statements are indeed compatible with the Law; and if we add to them the numerous epistles coming from different quarters of the entire world, it would be clearly seen that by casting in Turkey's lot with that of Germany the Young Turks have committed an unpardonable sin against Islam and have excommunicated themselves from the brotherhood.

The *El-Moqattam*, a Moslem paper published in Cairo, had a significant signed article in its issue of February 16, 1915, upon "Moslem Independence." We make here a few quotations that show the tenor of the entire article:

Moslem as I am, I might likewise bemoan the lot of Islam, but my faith does not prevent my reason from ruling my emotions. . . . Moslem independence has, thanks to Enver and Tala'at, become a mere shadow of a past reality! The fact is that Moslem independence was in no age nearer to annihilation than it is at this time, nor have the Ottoman Mohammedans ever suffered more crushing humiliation than they are now suffering because of Enver, Tala'at and Jamal. Lands lost, provinces wrenched away, honor at stake—catastrophes unparalleled in the days of Abdul Hamid! The consequence is that our enemies have become more covetous of our property and more bold to do us harm. How then could we express sympathy at this time for Enver and his friends?

How can Enver, Tala'at and Jamal rightly be called the defenders of Moslem independence while they throw themselves, and us with them, into the arms of the Germans who treat us as a man treats his goods and chattels. Nor do I understand how they can claim to be the real defenders of Mohammedan independence while the Germans are the absolute rulers of Turkey. These "defenders" are driving our children and brothers and cousins into the jaws of death, not to restore something that has been lost, but to enlarge the boundaries of the German Empire and hoist its flag over every fortress and citadel! Yes, how can they claim to be the defenders of this independence while, ever since they came into power, they have punished every one who has had the welfare of Islam at heart? How can they, while they are fighting against the Quran and the language of the Quran? Yea, what right have those braggarts to boast of the government of Enver and Tala'at and Jamal as being the real defense of Moslem freedom while the Ottoman Empire has, owing to them, fallen to the lowest depths of misery?

It is desired by some to have an independent Moslem state, free of all European control. Indeed, this is both legitimate and patriotic. But this requires first to purge the nation of all fanaticism and superstition, and to allow reason full control over passions. Moreover, active and energetic men are wanted who would work wisely and sincerely and with true moral courage to realise these golden dreams.

Through the divisions cast into Mohammedanism by this war, converts today know no central Mohammedan power, no recognized Caliph. The cherished hope of the ultimate triumph of Mohammedanism as the ruling religious and physical force in the world is rapidly disappearing. Belief in Mohammedanism as representing adequate strength for world government has lost its place, even in Mohammedan thinking. The boasted solidarity of Islam no longer exists. There is no possibility of a return even to the former sense of



unity. The last great Moslem power, the Ottoman Empire, as the result of this European war, has already lost its national significance, and the Mohammedan world is casting about for a new Caliph. There is no evidence that such a leader who will be accepted by the entire Moslem world can be found. According to Moslem law the Caliph must be the ruler of an independent Mohammedan country, and today none such exists. By the agreement of the European powers, the Hejaz in Arabia, in which the holy places of Islam are located, may be set aside for Arabian self government and allowed for the time being to control these sacred shrines. There is no reason to believe that the Mohammedans of the rest of the world will recognize the ruler of that small territory as the universal Caliph. The breaking up of the unity and solidarity of Mohammedanism is of tremendous significance not only to the Mohammedan world but also to the entire Christian world.

## JAPAN'S OCCUPATION OF SHANTUNG, CHINA A QUESTION OF RIGHT

*By Gilbert Reid, D.D., Director-in-Chief of the International  
Institute of China*

If the Japanese government ultimately takes possession of all property which Germany acquired in Shantung, by treaty, by agreement, or by contract, and whether as a lease or as a concession, and if foreign powers enter no protest to such action on the part of Japan, I for one would urge the Chinese government to fight shy of making foreign loans, granting concessions for mines and railways, leasing ports, or assenting to settlement extensions, whoever the foreign power or powers to ask the favor or demand the right.

Suppose, for instance, that Americans or the American government, which plainly wants no more territory, should seek any of these political and commercial privileges. I would advise China to negative the proposition, that is, if Japan, in her new day of opportunity, actually claims possession of property owned by China but leased to Germany. "But why," it may be asked, "should China fear America? Are not all Americans altruistic?" But suppose they are, does that end the matter? By no means, at this present time, in this year of grace, 1916. Suppose that an American syndicate puts up \$100,000,000 for a big mining concession, or takes over the Han Yeh Ping works at Hanyang in the centre of China, and with it various iron and coal mines. And then suppose that Japan goes to war with my defenseless country. According to precedent, through military necessity, the Japanese fleet would have perfect right to sail up the Yangtze, and to occupy the works at Hanyang and despatch troops to the mines in Hupeh, Kiangse and Hunan; Japan would defeat the residue of Americans, and would impart the information that all this was no concern of China.

"Possession is nine points of law," is an old saying. *A temporary occupation casts its shadow ahead.*

Let me imagine a simpler illustration. I am by appointment Director-in-Chief of the International Institute of China. Suppose that some keen-minded men, talking business before the Shanghai Club Bar, light on the happy thought of ejecting me from my position in the Institute, owing to past misbehavior on my part. Mr. Smith of Manchester and his doughty son undertake to do the job. Coming out to the Institute, they find me taking my constitutional on the grounds. Father and son come marching in, and as they draw near, I am greeted,

"Get out of this place."

"Not till you knock me out," I reply, bravely enough, but rashly. Though I look as if I might put up a good fight, standing as I do good six feet and one, yet Sam. Smith weighs 220 odd pounds to my 132. His son even reaches 160. So with one blow, I am laid sprawling, and with a black eye and bleeding nose I am dragged out to the street, and handed over to an Annamite policeman, who is told:

"Take him down in front of the club and duck him in the Whang-poo River."

And when I disappear beneath the waters, that is the last of me in the goodly town of Shanghai.

Meanwhile Smith and son enter the house, which through arrangement with the trustees I rent on the favorable terms of £1 a month. These two gentlemen strike terror into the Reid family, who escape out of the back door. The Chinese cook, who comes from Tsingtao, and thinks he cooks German fashion, is knocked out through the window. The new master goes to the telephone, and says:

"Wife, is that you?"

"Yes, Samie, dear."

"Well, come around at once to our new house, and bring all the relatives, and don't forget the Japanese maid and the Sikh watchman."

No sooner said, than done. This accomplished, old man Smith goes over to the Institute, turns out all the men in my employ, puts in a better lot, and grabs for the checque-

book. He writes \$1000 straight, and signs, "Samuel Smith, Director-in-chief."

Now the question is, "Will the committee let Smith rent the house for £1; will it recognize him as Director-in-chief, and will the bank cash the cheque before it is thus authorized? Has Smith and his gang legally got possession of the Institute property?"

Now, let us back to business, and think a little of Japanese possession of Chinese property in Shantung, which was handed over to Germany by deed of lease. Have China and Germany any legal rights, or does the Might of Japan make Right for herself and all concerned?

Baron Kato is reported in a Japanese paper as using these words:

The future of Tsingtao and various questions in connection therewith, will be solved at the Peace Conference to follow war, and the present is by no means a fitting occasion to discuss them. The Shantung Railway is, needless to say, a private enterprise, and Japan is simply in temporary possession. Various mines in the province have also been duly investigated by the Japanese authorities, but none have been found promising as business schemes. The question as to whether Japan will return to the original owners what she now occupies in Shantung province is one that must be left for future consideration.

Japan may retire because the business is not a paying concern, but what I am anxious to know, is whether her permanent possession, without the consent of both Germany and China, would be morally or legally right. I think I know what most people would say, but I prefer to base the decision on a few recognized business principles, in harmony with law. Japan has already forced a treaty on China, as if she had legally come into possession, and nothing more need be said.

Before we study the question as to whether Japan can take over legally the property rights of Germany in Shantung, we must understand how Germany first secured them from China, and what is the difference between the ownership of China and Germany.

The first arrangement made between China and Germany was in 1898. The contract was in the form of a

treaty or convention made by two governments. The contract was, therefore, a formal contract of a most binding character. Being so, it is enforceable without the presence of consideration, and thus differs from what is known as a simple contract. By this sealed contract, the Chinese government "cedes to Germany on lease, provisionally for ninety-nine years," a zone around Kiaochow Bay of 100 Chinese miles. Within this ceded territory, Germany makes certain promises to China. One is that "all rights of sovereignty" are retained by the Chinese government. Another is that the building of fortifications is "to increase the military readiness of the Chinese Empire." A third is that the territory thus leased may, at Germany's wish, be returned to China "before the expiration of the lease," except that China will "refund to Germany the expenditure she has incurred at Kiaochow," and will "cede to Germany a more suitable place." A fourth is that "Germany engages at no time to sublet the territory leased from China to another power."

This last provision is most vital to China's interests, for while she may see an advantage in making the lease to Germany, she may well object to Japan, or any other power, securing the lease in an indirect way. From a political point of view this stipulation is wise. With a strong power like Germany in Shantung, there was originally a *buffer* between Great Britain and Russia, and later between Great Britain and Japan, two close allies.

The matter of getting back the fortifications, built by Germany, is also most important. China can be content, so long as these military preparations are for China's defense. Otherwise, with Port Arthur, Weihaiwei, and then the Taku forts, all taken away, China would be placed in a weak naval position for defense against an enemy.

A second contract, likewise a treaty or agreement signed and sealed by the two governments, was made the same year and related to railway and mining concessions in the same province of Shantung. China gave sanction for "the construction by Germany of two lines of railway." A Chino-German Company was to be formed, and "both

German and Chinese subjects shall be at liberty to invest money as they so chose." China gave the right to no one else, Japanese or British. Politically she was wise to make such a discrimination. In a similar way, when China who had given a certain concession to an American company, and then learned that it was being sold out to Belgians, protested, threatened to make the contract null and void, and finally compelled the company to give it back to China.

The mining concessions, to Germany and no one else, were to be "for a distance of 30 li from each side of these railways and along the whole extent of the lines." China had her own reason for making such concessions, and the result has proved to the industrial advantage of China.

In the same contract the Chinese government agrees or "binds itself in all cases when foreign assistance, in persons, capital or material, may be needed for any purpose whatever within the province of Shantung," the first offer must go to Germans. China had no thought or intention that, in making terms with Germans, she was to deal finally with Japanese.

In accordance with the above contract or agreement, such a German-Chinese Company was organized and incorporated in Germany in 1899, and in the corporation, as in the agreement, the intention to ward off other nations appears: "The transfer of the concession itself or parts thereof to another company, not German or German-Chinese, is prohibited."

The next year, in 1900, when Yuan Shih-K'ai was Governor of Shantung, he signed for the government a special agreement with the new Chino-German Company concerning railways in Shantung. In this agreement the stipulation is made that if military protection is needed for the railway, "the governor of Shantung shall detail such soldiers, and foreign soldiers cannot be used." This is to show that the Chinese government still retains its sovereignty, and that that railway concession has no political significance, but is only a commercial undertaking of a business company. Not only German, but Japanese soldiers are prohibited from occupying the railway.

We have here sufficient data for the further study of Japanese legality or illegality in taking possession of various properties held in the name of Germans by contract with China.

It is plain that Japan of herself has no legal right to set aside these contracts made between China and Germany. She cannot as spoils of war decide to take for herself that which belongs either to China or Germany or both. If she desires compensation for her military expenditure in attacking Germany in Shantung, she should approach Great Britain who first sought her aid. So far as Kiaochow Wan, and the railways and mines in Shantung are concerned, Japan is bound to get the consent of both Germany and China to annul the contract between them, and to hand it all over to Japan. Without their consent, possession by Japan would be illegal. Is such consent likely or desirable?

First, then, can Japan get the consent of Germany? For Germany to agree to the transfer of property, without China's conjoint action, would be to break the solemn and formal contract made with China. As to the leased territory of Kiaochow, Germany is forbidden to sublet to any other country. If subletting is distinctly prohibited, still more would an out-and-out assignment be objectionable to China.

In the same way, the railways and mines are commercial enterprises, and private property, of Germans and Chinese alone. Japan cannot of her own free will *confiscate private property* of Germans, still less of Chinese; neither has she the power to nullify or abrogate a contract made by other parties, in this case Germany and China.

Japan may be able in the final Peace Conference to compel Germany to pay an indemnity; she cannot compel Germany to give up property held by contract with China, when such contract forbids this very transfer. Germany is the tenant, and China the landlord. Complete assignment by the tenant requires the consent of the landlord.

A good deal has been written about the "mailed fist" compulsion brought to bear on China in making the treaties

of 1898. But Germany showed no more force than Russia, Great Britain or France. If the contract between China and Germany can be made voidable, because of duress, the same would apply to most of the treaties made by China, more particularly the Protocol of 1901. As a matter of fact duress means "actual or threatened violence offered to a man, in order to force him to enter into a contract." Such a condition did not exist, when China and Germany made their treaties, and if China has not cared to declare voidable any of these treaties, still less has Japan, an outside party, power to do so.

Under the same legal principles, China no more than Germany can allow Japan to take possession of property acquired by Germany through contract, when the contract clearly states that no third party can have any share in the property or in any way acquire the property. It is illegal for China to consent to the transfer from Germany to Japan, and it is illegal for Japan to force the transfer without China's consent. China has, indeed, consented to let Japan and Germany decide it themselves, but this was under duress.

It is not necessary to inquire into all the reasons which led China to desire a contract with Germany alone. The political reason is transparent, and a political reason always enters into contracts made between governments, that is, into treaties. *China's self-preservation depends on a nice balance of powers*; for Germany to be in Shantung is safer than to have Japan.

Legally Kiaochow, and the railways and mines must either be retained by Germany or revert to China. Japan has no right thereto. "Third persons may render themselves liable in tort by interfering with contracts, or by inducing one party to a contract to commit a breach of it." This liability falls on Japan, if she persist in bringing about a breach of contract by either Germany or China. Japan would do herself more honor, if she taught China the inviolability of treaties, rather than the way to break them.

Compensation to Japan for going into the war, when neither Germany nor China wanted the war on Chinese



territory, cannot legally be met through the aid of any of these contracts. It will hardly be granted by Germany and certainly ought not to be forced from China.

China, therefore, whatever the demands of Japan, ought not to comply with any of these demands or threats, to the violation of a contract or treaty. If the war has forcibly and under protest been brought into China, China, though a neutral nation, has as much right at the peace negotiations as Belgium, once another neutral nation, or Japan, who should have remained neutral.

It certainly is absurd as well as wrong to make China suffer, because on the other side of the globe different nations want to fight. If from a war in Europe there comes the right to confiscate Chinese property, we have indeed learned a law which before had no existence.

The only argument which I have heard advanced in support of Japanese military occupation, to be succeeded by appropriation, of property belonging to China the sovereign, but temporarily transferred or ceded to Germany, is that everything is right in war. But what Germany has the right in war to do in Belgium, or what Japan and Australia have the right to do in German colonies in the Pacific, or Great Britain in Egypt, is a very different question from Japan's right of occupation and appropriation in China, which is not one of the belligerents. Kiaochow is not a German colony such as Hongkong is a British colony. Still less is the province of Shantung German. China has never relinquished her sovereignty. Even when occupying an enemy's territory, the invader is *forbidden to suspend laws affecting property. Land and buildings may not be alienated.*

If the object of Japan in going to war was simply to defeat the German garrison at Tsingtao and eliminate Germany therefrom, her purpose works no great harm to China; but if she went into the war to occupy and appropriate Shantung as she has done Port Arthur and southern Manchuria, then the war was unjustifiable and ought to be condemned by civilized nations. It is just because I feared this ultimate sequence that at the outset I strongly dep-

recated *the bringing of Japan into the war and the war into China.*

I therefore revert to the statement with which I began, that China hereafter had better fight shy of all loans, concessions, leased territories or settlement extensions, if through war in Europe and then through war between Germany and Japan, the latter country can occupy permanently in China all that Germany holds in lease by contract or by concession from China. Favors to foreigners may turn in time of war to be China's calamity.

## UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND DEMOCRACY

*By George Nasmyth, Ph.D., author of "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory: A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"*

If any person had predicted two years ago that the people of America would be seriously discussing the adoption of universal military service in 1917, he would have been looked upon as a visionary. But since the outbreak of the war in Europe, the rising tide of reaction which resulted from the international reign of terror; the increasing power of militarism in the world; and the great preparedness campaign which was carried to a successful conclusion in 1915 and 1916, have led, step by step, to an increasing agitation for universal military service, as an essential part of the system of national defense.

The advocates of universal military service are not limited to military officers like General Leonard A. Wood<sup>1</sup> or to partisans of a "big stick" policy in dealing with other nations, like Colonel Roosevelt. The growing importance of the subject is witnessed by the recent accession to their ranks of President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot,<sup>2</sup> widely known as a protagonist of democracy, and of Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, who has attempted to show that democracy has nothing to fear from universal military service.

Moreover, laws have actually been passed in the closing hours of the session of the legislature in New York State providing for military training in the high school

<sup>1</sup> *The Military Obligations of Citizenship*. Princeton University Press, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> "Universal Military Service" by Charles W. Eliot in *World's Work*, Nov., 1916. See also *The Free Man and the Soldier*, by Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, *Scribner's*, 1916.

and universal military service for all young men between the ages of 18 and 21.<sup>3</sup> Finally the national defense act passed by the United States Congress in July, 1916<sup>4</sup> gives to the military authorities the power to "draft" men into the army whenever voluntary enlistments shall be insufficient, so that universal military service or conscription, to use a more convenient term for the same idea, has been established as a legal principle in the Empire State and in the nation.

The fact that these laws were passed in the closing hours of legislative sessions, without adequate discussion and without complete understanding on the part of the people on the issues involved, makes it inevitable that the debate shall be re-opened in the near future. The principle at issue is fundamental, in a democracy, and the most widespread discussion of the subject should be welcomed by all who believe in the power of an enlightened public opinion to decide rightly on fundamental principles.

### UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND PREPAREDNESS

The case for universal military service rests on entirely different grounds than does the general case for preparedness. If we did not have our other five lines of national defense which protect us from any attack from European or Asiatic powers, there might be some justification in this universal military service in America. But with two oceans, one 3000 and the other 5000 miles in width; the navy, the second largest in the world; sub-marines, which make the transport of large bodies of troops across great distances a most hazardous undertaking; automatic and electric contact mines and coast fortifications, such as have made it impossible for the Allies successfully to land

<sup>3</sup> For the provisions of the Slater Bill and other bills for compulsory military training in New York, see *The Bloody Five*, published by the *New York Call*, 444 Pearl Street, New York City.

<sup>4</sup> For the details of the method by which the "draft" provision was inserted in the National Defense Act, see Representative J. M. Huddleston's speech in the *Congressional Record* reprinted by the American Union Against Militarism, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

troops on the shores of Germany or even Turkey, even when the Allies were backed by a naval force three or four times greater than that of the Central European Powers—with all these first lines of defense, not even the most fearful and extreme of our militarists pretend that an army of seven to ten million men, which the system of universal military service would give us after a few years of building up reserves who had passed through the military machine, would be necessary to repel an actual invasion on American soil. Even Colonel Roosevelt does not demand a standing army of more than 250,000 men and a reserve army of 400,000 men to meet his requirements for an "adequate" national defense, and no one has seriously urged that our preparedness needs require an army of universal service proportions.

But the volunteer system will fail, it is argued. Even the standing army of 250,000 men and the militia of 400,000 provided for in the national defense act cannot be raised by the voluntary method.

### AN ARMY OF SOCIAL SERVICE

If this force is needed, it can be raised by the right kind of an appeal to the American people. This involves a fundamental transformation of an army from its old-world character of a machine trained solely for wholesale murder, to a new world army of social service.<sup>5</sup> An army of labor trained in the work of reforestation, of irrigation, of building great highways, instructed in methods of camp sanitation and effective coöperation; from which every man would come out a more useful member of society and a more productive economic unit, would make a far different appeal to American young men than the standing army on the present system, or even a National Guard of the socially elite. With this employment in useful production should go adequate compensation, just as

<sup>5</sup> See *Invincible America* by Harry G. Traver, published by the Society of Constructive Defense, 50 Church St., New York City, and see also William James' *The Moral Equivalent of War*, published by the American Association for International Conciliation, Sub Station 84, New York City.

there goes adequate compensation for police work, for the work of firemen and life-savers. Under a really democratic system of social service such as this, there will be no difficulty in finding all the men that are needed, without resort to conscription.

But since the case which can be made out for compulsory service is so weak from the point of view of military necessity, its advocates fall back on other arguments. Universal military service, they claim, will promote democracy; it will unify the nation; it will increase patriotism; it will form greatly needed habits of obedience and discipline. These arguments constitute, in brief, the case for conscription, around which the great debate will rage, and they are so important that they should be subjected to the most searching analysis.

### DEMOCRACY

Does universal military service involve equal sacrifice on the part of rich and poor alike? If both are killed, of course, both have made the last great sacrifice, and so far as their individual lives are concerned, it is equal. But for the families of the two men the difference is very great. For the family of the poor man, the loss of the breadwinner means that the widow must go out to work, that the children must be deprived of an opportunity for education, that their whole lives must be limited because they did not have the opportunities they would have had if their father had lived. For the rich man, on the contrary, no such sacrifice on the part of his family is involved. His wife is not compelled to go out and work, his children are not deprived of the opportunity of receiving a liberal education. If a conscription of wealth were advocated as a companion measure to a conscription of lives, there might be some justification for the argument on a basis of democracy. But a conscription of lives alone, such as is advocated by the believers in universal military service, is fundamentally unjust, if the family, instead of the individual, is considered as the real unit and the foundation of the nation's life.

Even if sacrifice of life is not involved, the sacrifice of time required for universal military service imposes an unequal burden upon the rich and the poor. For the rich man, Plattsburg is an enjoyable vacation, and a longer period of military service would not be any great hardship, but for the poor man it means a definite interruption of his economic life, the stopping of his earnings, a postponement of the time when he can afford to marry, an interruption of his difficult task of getting a foothold in his trade or small business. In Germany, it is estimated that the economic loss involved by taking a young man from the farm, for example, is equivalent to about \$500 a year, and the father has to hire Polish or Italian laborers to take the place of the son who goes to serve for two years in the Kaiser's army, but for the rich man, military service offers a career, an entrance to the ranks of society, the opening of positions in the government service and educational advantages of technical training in the officers' colleges. No element of equality of sacrifice can be discovered in the two cases.

Those who believe that class distinctions can be broken down and democracy created by regimenting men into masses and forcing them to drill together, have missed the central idea of democracy which is based on the principle of voluntary coöperation, of equality of opportunity, and the abolition of caste privileges. Those who believe that democracy can be imposed from without by force and point to the examples of France and Switzerland, should analyze the conditions in those countries more deeply. As soon as we penetrate below the surface, we find in each of them a great conflict between the forces of militarism and democracy. This conflict rages in all countries where universal military service is established, and it has been revealed in all its bitterness by the vivid, lightning flashes of the Dreyfus affair in France, the Zabern incident in Germany, and the Ulster crisis in the British Army—all parallel instances of successful struggles for the supremacy of the military over the civil powers of government. In France the *revanche* movement which brought about

the Russo-French Alliance, the three year conscription law of 1912, and the outcome of the Morocco crisis of 1911, all represented victories of the military caste over the forces of democracy and the popular government.

Switzerland has not had an aggressive militarism of the Pan-German type, it is true, but this is not due to any lack of desire on the part of the Swiss military officers who are like military officers the world over. It has been due to the fact that Switzerland is a small country and any propaganda for a career of "national destiny," or the conquest of the world would render its advocates ludicrous. The military spirit, however, and its fundamental opposition to democracy is essentially the same in Switzerland as in Germany or France, as is witnessed, for example, by the testimony of Swiss Social Democrats at the International Socialist Congresses<sup>6</sup> in Stuttgart and other centers.

Everywhere militarism has been the most formidable enemy of democracy. For every million soldiers you must have at least 30,000 officers, and these 30,000 officers must make the military profession their life work. They must cultivate an iron will and a spirit of domination as essential elements of success, and necessarily they chafe with impatience at the discussions and restraints of democracy and the civil powers of government. Altogether they constitute a source of ever present danger to the peace of a nation which is powerful enough to be a menace to the world.

The testimony of representative British and German statesmen—Viscount Bryce, former Ambassador to America, and of Bismarck himself, is illuminating in this connection.

The reason why we have had one hundred years of peace in the English speaking world, according to Viscount Bryce, is because we have had so little militarism in America in the past. In the introduction to Prof. Dunning's book on *The British Empire and the United States* Bryce says

<sup>6</sup> See *The Socialism of Today*, 1916 (Henry Holt and Company), pp. 614. "The Swiss comrades pointed out that their militia was commanded by officers of the ruling class and was used by the bourgeoisie against the working people." Report of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907.



that during a number of years the American masses would not have opposed war with England but "fortunately . . . the country was free from a pernicious military caste which worked such frightful evil in Europe, being indeed driven to desire opportunities for practising the work for which the profession exists."

This is the testimony of a British statesman. On the other hand Bismarck in his *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Chapter XXII, tells us definitely how the Prussian militarists tried to push him into war, how he used this militarist pressure to throw the country into war with Austria in 1866 and with France in 1870, and how he had to resist the powerful militarist pressure towards war in 1867, in 1875 and on other occasions. Bismarck says on page 102, volume II:

It is natural that in the staff of the army not only younger active officers, but likewise experienced strategists, should feel the need of turning to account the efficiency of the troops led by them, and their own capacity to lead, and of making them prominent in history. It would be a matter of regret if this effect of the military spirit did not exist in the army; the task of keeping its results within such limits at the nations' need of peace can justly claim, is the duty of the political, not the military, heads of the state.

That at the time of the Luxemburg question, during the crisis of 1875, invented by Gortchakoff and France, and even down to the most recent times, the staff and its leaders have allowed themselves to be led astray and to endanger peace, lies in the very spirit of the institution.

If the breakdown of civilization in Europe has anything to teach America, surely it is the danger of any increase in the forces or the philosophy of militarism.

### DISCIPLINE

The second argument for universal military service is that it will promote discipline. It will teach obedience and respect for authority, it is urged, and these elements are greatly needed in American life. The trouble here is the kind of discipline which military service provides. It is a discipline enforced from without and breaks down as

soon as the restraining force is removed. The whole object of military training is to secure instantaneous obedience without thought, to make a man a part of an automatic military machine so that if he is ordered to sink the *Lusitania* or destroy the city of Louvain, he will obey instantly and unquestioningly. Such unthinking obedience is far removed from that self-imposed discipline, that respect for laws because they have been enacted by common consent and for the welfare of the people; of freedom of discussion, of speech, of press, of assembly, and of conscience, which are the foundation stones of a self-governing democracy.<sup>7</sup> The history of Prussia illustrates clearly the inevitable results of military discipline. At first, the German people opposed conscription bitterly, but after a few generations of men had been put through the military machine and taught the right kind of obedience, all opposition ceased. Germany became a servile state. More and more power was given into the hands of the military caste, and the events which have occurred since August 1, 1914 have well been called "The Nemesis of docility."

### NATIONAL UNITY

The third argument is that it will promote Americanism, it will heal all our divisions of race and nationality, eliminate the hyphen, and unify the American people.

The experience of European nations which have tried to meet similar problems by this method is in flat contradiction to such an assumption. In Austria militarism has reigned with undisputed sway, but universal military service for generations has failed to unite Germans and

<sup>7</sup> See an excellent article on educational aspects of the subject by Prof. John Dewey in *The New Republic*, April 15, 1916. For the objections to military drill as a physical exercise see the testimony of Dudley A. Sargent, M.D., Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, reprinted in *A Protest against Military Training in Public Schools*, published by the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

See also *Military Training for School Boys*, a symposium by eighty recognised leaders in Education, Physical Training, etc., published at Room 25, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bohemians, Poles and Czechs and Slavs in the ideal unity which our militarists picture for us as the inevitable result of conscription. In fact, it was a matter of common knowledge that the death of Emperor Franz Joseph was to be the signal for a simultaneous revolution in which all the races of Austria should seek freedom from the unity thus imposed upon them by conscription and force, and only the outbreak of the great war has prevented the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. It may be that war has a unifying influence and that the Austrian Empire will be solidified by the terrible ordeal through which it is passing. That remains to be seen. But in any case, I do not understand the advocates of universal military service to be urging war as a remedy for the lack of unity in our national life. The history of Poland, of the subject races and nationalities of Russia, and of Turkey is a refutation of the claim that national unity can be secured by universal military service.

America needs unity, a national consciousness, and a national will, but no reactionary, militaristic, obsolete, old world instrument, such as conscription, can unify the American people.

#### PATRIOTISM

A fourth argument for universal military service is that it will promote patriotism, it will teach a man to be ready to sacrifice himself for others and to lay down his life for his country in the service of a great idea. The difficulty with this plan is that there are various kinds of patriotism and the tendency of militarism is to emphasize the wrong kind—the patriotism which corresponds to a narrow nationalism and to Jingoism and the patriotism which is based upon the hatred of other parts of the human race who happen to live the other side of a boundary line. Patriotism and nationalism of the wrong kind are defeating their own ends in Europe. For the sake of our country, as well as for humanity, we must develop another type of patriotism than universal military service has given us in Germany or any of the European countries, a patriotism which will

look upon America as a part of the world and will take pride in the contributions which America can make to the family of nations. Independence for the sake of independence, a new nation merely that there might be one more army and navy in the world, was no part of the purpose of the founders of the Republic. As Henry Adams said of the great author of the Declaration of Independence:

Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. That the United States should become a nation like France, England or Russia, or should conquer the world like Rome, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal; when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant; when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police,—he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view. . . . He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe; the central government at Washington should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity.

We need greatly a rebirth of true patriotism, just as we need a more fundamental democracy, deeper national unity, more self-discipline, but universal military service is not the panacea for these ills. A true American patriotism can be created only by a return to the great principles of the founders of the Republic, a new vision of the mission of America in the world, a great world task such as the establishment of a League to Enforce Peace, calling for the sacrifice of old provincialisms and outworn traditions in the service of humanity, as a whole. In this way, under the great constructive leadership of a world statesman, America can be unified. In this way we may recover our vision of democracy and we may lead the world into a higher patriotism, purified in the fiery furnace of this world crisis. By these new paths which lead out into a future full of hope and service, it may be that in the coming years the soul of America will be born again into a new and larger life, but never by the path of conscription, of fear and servile obedience, and the mechanical methods of militarism.

A much deeper principle is involved than is usually discussed in connection with universal military service: What kind of a society do we wish to live in? For, if the principle of compulsion is accepted in the case of military service, it must logically be accepted for service in munition factories, on the railroads, in coal mines and in all the industrial and economic life upon which modern wars depend. In other words, once having granted the principle of compulsion on the ground of military necessity, all the fundamental principles of democracy must be sacrificed and our country must be "Prussianized" from within. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press<sup>8</sup> are all opposed to military effectiveness and must disappear step by step if freedom of conscience, the advance trench of democracy, is carried by the militarists; for in the last analysis, universal military service means conscription of conscience.<sup>9</sup>

The new political persecution represented by the adoption of conscription differs from the old religious persecution in this: whereas, in the Middle Ages the heretic could save his life by keeping his mouth closed and his opinions to himself, in the modern political persecution of Twentieth Century militarism, the heretic who may believe that an aggressive foreign policy is unjust, or a war which his country has declared is unprovoked, is compelled not only to keep his opinions to himself, but is forced to go out and kill his fellowmen against whom he may have no cause for enmity whatever.

America is the only great nation left in the world in which militarism is not enthroned and the principle of conscription established. In order to defend our institutions and our democracy from imaginary dangers from without, we are urged to surrender to this much more real and formidable enemy of militarism and conscription

<sup>8</sup> The War Department is now advocating legislation giving the military authorities power to establish a censorship over the press in time of war.

<sup>9</sup> See Norman Angell's admirable article on the psychological aspect of universal military service as a conscription of conscience in *The New Republic*, April 8, 1916.

from within. Upon the outcome of the great debate on "Conscription vs. Democracy" depends the question of whether the last fortress of democracy in the world and the greatest adventure in human history shall go down in failure. All patriotic Americans, all who believe that America has a mission and a great message of democracy to give to the world should enroll themselves in defence of America's freedom and democratic institutions presenting a united front against this attempt to militarize the whole American people.

Sometime in the future, if Europe remains an armed camp after this war, and if militarism is enthroned in the world it may become inevitable for America to adopt conscription, and, in Jefferson's words "to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe," "to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity." But if conscription ever does become inevitable let us not add blasphemy to our other crimes by adopting militarism in the name of democracy. No, let us do it with the clear knowledge that we are dealing a death blow to the greatest experiment in democracy the human race has ever tried. Let us do it with the consciousness that we have participated in a great world tragedy, and that, with the triumph of militarism in the New World as well as the Old, we shall have seen government of the people, by the people and for the people, perish from the earth.

# THE UNITED STATES AND SANTO DOMINGO 1789-1866

(Continued)

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE UNITED STATES AND HAITI, 1810-1840

The resumption of commercial relations between the United States and Haiti in 1810 found the island divided in sovereignty. Spain had in 1809, by the aid of England, wrested the control of the eastern half of the island from France and for the next twelve years Spanish Santo Domingo continued to be a Spanish colony. In the western half of the island negro rule had been securely established, but consolidation of the country under one ruler had not yet been accomplished. During Dessalines' brief rule, he was acknowledged as the nominal head of the entire state, but his death by assassination revealed the divisions within the country, due to racial prejudices and the difficulty of communication between the different sections of Haiti.

Various claimants to power sought to establish themselves in the provinces of Haiti, but gradually authority was consolidated into the hands of two men. In the north, Henri Christophe, one of Toussaint's lieutenants, set up a despotic negro kingdom, under the title of King Henry I. Until 1820 his word was law among the negroes of the north, while his cruelty is commemorated in many a story of his reign.

In the west and south, Pétion, a mulatto leader, exercised until 1818 somewhat less arbitrary power as president of the Republic of Haiti. The contrast between the two governments established illustrates the difference in tendency between a negro and a mulatto régime in Haiti; for

a negro government tends to degenerate into an absolutism untempered by mercy, while a mulatto government is apt to develop into an inefficient oligarchy lacking in governance.

Resumption of commerce with the dominions of Christophe was not altogether profitable for American merchants. The year 1810 was an especially difficult one for American traders, for in that year Christophe had sent to the United States, \$125,000 to purchase a variety of articles, but the money was fraudulently detained there. Christophe's only resource was to requisition American merchants at Cap Français for the sum and in spite of their innocence of any connection with the transaction in question, they were compelled to reimburse the king for the loss he had suffered. This was a beginning of claims upon Christophe, which, aggravated by repeated confiscations and captures of American vessels, in a few years reached a sum estimated at several hundred thousand dollars.<sup>281</sup>

Relations with Pétion seem to have been somewhat more friendly for a mulatto régime is apt to show itself more favorable to foreign intercourse than a negro government, but even trade with the West and South had its disadvantages. In November, 1813, during our war with England, an American commercial agent was received at Port au Prince and special privileges were accorded to our privateers in Haitian harbors.<sup>282</sup> In the following August, however, Mr. Taylor wrote that "the conduct of Pétion to our Privateers, is *barely friendly*."<sup>283</sup>

In 1817 the American government determined to make a serious attempt to recover the indemnity claimed by American traders from Christophe. Septimius Tyler was dispatched to Cap Français with the title of commercial agent.<sup>284</sup> To make his mission more impressive, he was conveyed to Haiti in the frigate *Congress*, but the attempt

<sup>281</sup> 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, 6.

<sup>282</sup> State Department Archives, Taylor to Monroe, December 10, 1813.

<sup>283</sup> State Department Archives, Taylor to Monroe, August 30, 1814.

<sup>284</sup> 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, 40.



to leave him at Cap Français as a representative of the American government proved unsuccessful. The letter of credence with which he had been supplied was not in the ordinary form used in despatching commercial agents. To avoid anything like a recognition of Christophe's authority, the letter simply announced that Mr. Tyler had been named as commercial agent at Cap Français in the island of Santo Domingo. As no mention was made of his being accredited to King Henry and his court and as Cap Français had ceased to exist having been rechristened Cape Henry, while the island of Santo Domingo had been given again its old Indian name of Haiti, Christophe felt justified in refusing to receive the American commissioner.<sup>265</sup> He was rather unfairly accused of taking this course solely in order to avoid paying the three or four hundred thousand dollars demanded by the American government;<sup>266</sup> but the American disregard of ordinary diplomatic usage would seem sufficient justification for his action.

The following year another attempt was made to place a commercial agent at the court of King Henry. An American frigate was again employed to convey the American representative, William Taylor, to his post and he was given a certificate of appointment in which the words Cap Français and Santo Domingo were replaced by the new names, Cape Henry and Haiti. But as this certificate too did not recognize the independence of the Haitian government, Christophe refused to accord its bearer any official recognition. The only consolation for the American government was that England had failed too in a similar attempt.<sup>267</sup>

Pétion had proved less unwilling to receive American representatives. In 1817 William Taylor had been named as commercial agent at Port au Prince and Pétion had at that time expressed his desire to "preserve the most amicable relations with the United States."<sup>268</sup> In 1818 Commodore Lewis was received in the same capacity.

<sup>265</sup> 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, 117.

<sup>266</sup> Niles's *Register*, xiv, 263.

<sup>267</sup> 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, 117-120.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

Pétion's death in 1818 and the suicide of Christophe in 1820 resulted in the union of Haiti under one man, Jean-Pierre Boyer and two years later the Spanish part of Santo Domingo also came under his control, which continued until 1843. It was the period of despots in the South American states and Boyer would seem to have compared not unfavorably with contemporary rulers. He was, for his time and position, enlightened and liberal. He preserved peace and order, and, in contrast with the days of revolution and bloodshed that have followed, his rule is looked back upon as Haiti's golden age. But "the quiet which marked Boyer's rule was at best only a consumptive tranquility."<sup>269</sup> He displayed the typical mulatto inability to rule. He kept peace at the expense of progress and the period of his rule was one of stagnation rather than growth. St. John has summed up the results of his régime: "After a twenty years' peace, the country is described as in a state of ruin, without trade or resources of any kind; with peculations and jobbery paramount in the public offices."<sup>270</sup> With such a ruler the United States was able to preserve some sort of diplomatic relations, though it proved a difficult task at times in the face of the determined refusal of the United States to recognize Haitian independence.

Soon after his inauguration Boyer conceived the idea of recruiting the population, decimated by constant wars, by an immigration of free blacks from the United States. It was not a new idea. Dessalines, in 1804, had offered a reward of forty dollars to American captains for every Haitian negro brought back from the United States;<sup>271</sup> and in 1821 a Maryland Haytian Society was formed by some free blacks in that state to forward their emigration to Haiti.<sup>272</sup> In 1824 Boyer began a serious attempt to bring over negroes in large numbers. Jonathan Granville was sent to New York as the agent of the Haitian government and was supplied with fifty thousand pounds of coffee

<sup>269</sup> Clark, *A Plea for Hayti*, 34.

<sup>270</sup> St. John, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>271</sup> *Writings of James Monroe*, iv, 186.

<sup>272</sup> *Niles's Register*, xix, 415.

to pay the expenses of the undertaking. Boyer's terms were most liberal. He promised to pay the passage of the immigrants, support them for four months, and then grant them land at the rate of thirty-six acres to every twelve laborers.<sup>273</sup> He was especially anxious for agricultural laborers and artisans of whom the country stood in need. According to Hunt some thirteen thousand negroes availed themselves of the opportunity to become established in a free country.<sup>274</sup> The result was in many respects disappointing. The immigrants seem to have expected continued support in Haiti, many came from American cities and were not adapted to the rural life of the island, and a large number, finding conditions other than their imaginations had painted, returned to the United States.

Southern opposition manifested itself to a course of action which on its face would seem to have been advantageous to the slave-owners. The principal objection to the emigration was the nearness of Haiti. Already afraid of the effect upon their own slaves of the establishment as the result of a servile revolt of a "flourishing black empire," they opposed the colonization of American negroes there lest "if this example is rendered more striking and familiar by the intercourse and communication which, in the event of colonizing in Hayti, must necessarily subsist between these colonists who shall go and their connections left behind in this country, it may add greatly to the apprehended danger."<sup>275</sup>

But it was in the following year in connection with the debate on the Panama Congress that Southern feeling in regard to Haiti was most clearly and emphatically expressed. The opposition to the Panama Mission was fundamentally a party and not a sectional opposition, stirred up by the Jackson Democrats. The interest in the congress, so far as American relations with Haiti are concerned, lies

<sup>273</sup> *Biographie de Jonathan Granville*, 92-93.

<sup>274</sup> Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans*, 11.

<sup>275</sup> *New York American*, June 18, 1824. Quoted *Biographie de Jonathan Granville*, 116.

not so much in the fate of the mission as in the appeal made to the South by the opponents of the president and the very candid statement made in the course of the Senate debates of the Southern attitude toward the Black Republic. The action taken by the United States at this time did much to intensify the feeling of bitterness engendered in Haiti against the American government because of its refusal to recognize Haitian independence.

Salazar, the Columbian minister at Washington, in his letter of November 2, 1825, to Mr. Clay, then secretary of state, in mentioning the topics which the approaching Congress at Panama would be called upon to discuss, wrote in regard to Haiti:

On what basis the relations of Hayti and other parts of our hemisphere that shall hereafter be in like circumstances are to be placed, is a question simple at first view, but attended with serious difficulties when closely examined. These arise from the different manner of regarding Africans and from their different rights in Hayti, the United States, and in other American States. This question will be determined at the Isthmus, and, if possible, a uniform rule of conduct adopted in regard to it, or those modifications that may be demanded by circumstances.<sup>276</sup>

Though the president was opposed to the recognition at that time of Haitian independence and did not even favor a discussion of the question by the Panama Congress,<sup>277</sup> a good deal of fiery invective was launched in the Senate against Señor Salazar's proposal. Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, one of the leaders of the opposition, said:

With nothing connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations, and, least of all, ought we to touch the question of the independence of Hayti in conjunction with Revolutionary governments, whose own history affords an example scarcely less fatal to our repose. . . . Our policy with regard to Hayti is plain. We never can acknowledge her independence. Other states will do as they please—but let us take the high ground, that these questions belong to a class, which the peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us even to discuss. Let our government direct all our ministers in South America and Mexico to *protest* against the independence

<sup>276</sup> *International American Conferences*, iv, 30.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 43, 145.

of Hayti. But let us not go into council on the slave trade and Hayti.<sup>278</sup>

Berrien of Georgia made a yet more impassioned plea against establishing any sort of relation with Haiti. To him Salazar's proposal was "one of the most odious features" of the whole affair, intercourse with Haiti would "introduce a moral contagion, compared with which physical pestilence, in the utmost imaginable degree of its horrors, would be light and insignificant," while self-preservation would compel the South to oppose the admission of the emancipated slaves of Haiti into their ports.<sup>279</sup>

Benton of Missouri summed up the Southern answer to the request of Northern merchants for diplomatic recognition of the island with which they carried on such an extensive trade:

Our policy towards Hayti, the old San Domingo, has been fixed, Mr. President, for three and thirty years. We trade with her, but no diplomatic relations have been established between us. We purchase coffee from her, and pay her for it; but we interchange no consuls or ministers. We receive no mulatto consuls, or black ambassadors from her. And why? Because the peace of eleven states will not permit the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them. It will not permit black consuls and ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through our country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them, for a like successful effort on their part. It will not permit the fact to be seen, and told, that for the murder of their masters and mistresses, they are to find friends among the white people of these United States.<sup>280</sup>

Little wonder that Haiti was slow to grant commercial favors to a nation which had shown itself so opposed to entering into any political relations with her. It was difficult for the government to steer a middle course between the demands of the northern merchants that rights and privileges should be secured for them by American officials in Haiti and the opposition of the South to anything that savored of recognition. In 1820 Andrew Armstrong was

<sup>278</sup> Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates in Congress*, ii, Pt. I, 166.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 290-291.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

received by President Boyer as American commercial agent at Port au Prince. In 1821 W. D. Robinson was sent to Port au Prince to present the claims of Commodore Lewis against the Haitian government and was granted a letter of introduction by the secretary of state to President Boyer.<sup>281</sup> He wrote from Port au Prince:

I judge from the interviews I have already had with President Boyer and his secretary general, that they are anxious to cultivate the good will of our government, and I feel confident that if our cabinet were to offer to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, or to make a commercial treaty with them, we might make our own terms and receive satisfaction for all claims.<sup>282</sup>

In 1823 the Haitian government made a formal application for recognition of its independence,<sup>283</sup> President Monroe made no direct reply but he sent a special message to the Senate in which he discussed the Santo Domingan situation though he made no definite recommendation to the Senate as to the course which they should pursue.<sup>284</sup> This message he hoped would be a satisfactory answer to the Haitian request but it was unfortunately not published. At about the same time Niles's *Register* contained the statement, that "it is strongly recommended by many, that the United States should *officially* acknowledge a fact which really exists, *the independence of Hayti*," though the editor himself considered recognition inexpedient because of the color prejudice in the United States.<sup>285</sup> The Boston papers in particular carried on an agitation for the recognition of Haiti as the first of all the Latin-American states to gain her independence.<sup>286</sup>

In 1824 the question of recognition came up for discussion in the cabinet on the occasion of a request by certain merchants that their agent sent down to recover claims against the Haitian government, be granted a letter from

<sup>281</sup> 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, 30.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>283</sup> *The Writings of James Monroe*, vi, 317.

<sup>284</sup> Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ii, 204-205.

<sup>285</sup> Niles's *Register*, xxv, 50.

<sup>286</sup> *Le Propagateur Haitien*, July, 1822.

the secretary of state, recognizing Boyer as president of the Haitian republic. It was decided by the cabinet members that neither the time nor the method was suitable for entering upon such a course of action.<sup>287</sup> In 1825, however, Mr. Clay expressed his belief that "the independence of the Haytian government must shortly be recognized."<sup>288</sup>

In the meantime the Haitian government was making a bid for favor with Great Britain. The absence of any color prejudice in that nation and the English desire for a monopoly of Haitian commerce made the recognition of independence by England seem more probable than by any other nation. Accordingly Great Britain was granted all the advantages of the most favored nation and import duties were lowered on ships flying the English flag, to the despair of the American traders.

In 1825, Charles X of France recognized the independence of Haiti in return for certain concessions and a money indemnity of thirty million dollars. Negotiations continued between France and Haiti until 1838 before the independence of Haiti was placed on a suitable footing and the indemnity was reduced to a figure somewhat more in keeping with the resources of the little republic. But the convention of 1825 permitted Great Britain in that year, without fear of offending France, to enter into diplomatic relations with the former French colony and to send to it a consular agent.<sup>289</sup>

Thus encouraged, Boyer refused to recognize Mr. Armstrong any longer as American commercial agent and forced him to leave the country, because of the failure of the United States to recognize in return "the tawny government of Hayti."<sup>290</sup> In 1828 the United States was still without a representative in the island and Adams wrote in regard to appointing a successor to Mr. Armstrong:

<sup>287</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vi, 233.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 530.

<sup>289</sup> St. John, *op. cit.* 82-84.

<sup>290</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vii, 389.

The appointment, if made, must be of an informal commercial agency, and with a probable prospect of not being recognized; as they had refused to act upon representations of our last commercial agent, Andrew Armstrong, on the ground that we declined to recognize the Haytien government as sovereign and independent.<sup>291</sup>

By 1830 American representatives were again being received but despite their strenuous efforts it was long before they secured for themselves the privileges that were granted to the British and French consuls. The consular correspondence of the period seems hardly in accordance with the dignity of the American government, filled as it is with requests for extensions of consular privileges, which were not granted; with protests against laws and duties which bore unfavorably upon American trade and which were not removed; with complaints against the unjust seizure of American vessels and the unjust imprisonment of American citizens, whose wrongs were righted grudgingly if at all; and with demands for indemnities which not even a show of force could obtain.

Trade with Haiti continued, however, despite all the drawbacks. In 1822 the United States was exporting as much to Haiti as to Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland combined and more shipping entered the United States from its ports than from any other country save England, the British American colonies and Cuba.<sup>292</sup> In 1824 American imports into Haiti were estimated at "double that of all other nations and one half in the total amount of importations."<sup>293</sup> In 1838, the value of the commerce is noted as diminishing, having decreased in amount from two million dollars annually to about one million.<sup>294</sup> In 1839, however, Haiti still stands thirteenth among all the nations trading with the United States.<sup>295</sup>

In the thirties with the growth of abolition agitation, the question of recognition entered upon a new phase. To

<sup>291</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vii, 441.

<sup>292</sup> Niles's *Register*, xx, 49.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii, 31.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, lv, 51.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, lvii, 23.



the voice of the merchants who were interested in Haitian commerce was added that of the opponents of slavery who realized that the slave-sentiment of the South stood in the way of diplomatic relations with the Black Republic. As early as 1825 petitions began to reach Congress in regard to the subject.<sup>296</sup> In 1838, when Mr. Adams began his celebrated fight in the House of Representatives against the gag-rule, which laid all petitions for the abolition of slavery on the table and forbade all discussion of that subject in the House, resolutions demanding the recognition of Haiti were substituted for those which came under the gag-rule, in order that the question of slavery might be kept before the people. In the winter of 1838-1839, more than two hundred petitions praying for the recognition of the negro republic and prompted by the Northern anti-slavery sentiment, were received by the House. The following session saw almost as many petitions and they continued to come during the years that followed.<sup>297</sup>

That they were the work of the abolition movement was well recognized by the Southern statesmen. In regard to it, H. S. Legaré in his "elaborate and impassioned speech"<sup>298</sup> of December 18, 1838, the most bitter of the speeches made at this time against the recognition of the negro state, said:

It is not for the paltry commerce of a horde of barbarians that agitation is beginning on this subject. It is because it affords a plausible pretext and a convenient opening to a continued discussion of that fatal question which has been agitated in and out of the House of late, with so much vehemence. . . . My objection against this memorial is that it aims at *abolition*—is a part of a system—is *not* for the benefit of commerce, but for the ruin of the South.

And he added the prophecy:

As sure as you live, Sir, if this course is permitted to go on, the sun of this Union will go down—it will go down in blood, and go down to rise no more. I will vote unhesitatingly against nefarious designs like these. They are treason.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>296</sup> *Boston Post*, April 8, 1862.

<sup>297</sup> Hasse, Index to United States Documents, relating to Foreign Affairs, i, 720-721.

<sup>298</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, x, 68.

<sup>299</sup> *Writings of Hugh Swinton Legaré*, i, 322-328.

In 1843 John Quincy Adams at a meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, offered a resolution "that a Consul ought to be forthwith appointed to the republic of Hayti to prosecute the claims of our citizens." But his was the only vote in the committee in favor of the resolution, though there were three other Northern men serving with him.<sup>300</sup>

Some at least of the petitions presented to Congress had a purely commercial basis. But nowhere more clearly than in these petitions is the close connection shown between the abolition movement and the economic interests of New England. It was the New England merchants who were the principal traders to Port au Prince and their desire as merchants for the removal of restraints on that trade, which could be accomplished only by the recognition of Haitian independence, was quite sincere. But they were at the same time actuated by humanitarian motives in desiring to improve the status of the negro. As a Southern congressman expressed it, in speaking of a voluminous petition prepared by some of the most prominent Boston merchants in 1852; "With you in the North this is a matter of convenience, philanthropy, and gain to your manufacturers, etc. With *us*, it is a matter of life and death."<sup>301</sup>

With the revolt of the eastern half of the island from Boyer's rule, in 1843, and the establishment of the Dominican Republic, the attitude of the Southern statesmen toward the island of Santo Domingo changed and relations with the island were placed upon a new footing.

## CHAPTER VII

### DOMINICAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE TRIPARTITE INTERVENTION

A brief review of the relation of Spanish to French Santo Domingo is necessary to an understanding of the events of the year 1843. Discovered by Columbus, the whole island remained under nominal Spanish control until 1697, when

<sup>300</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, xi, 331-333.

<sup>301</sup> Quoted in *Boston Post*, April 8, 1862.

the western half was ceded to France. Almost a century later, in 1795, France in her dream of a great French empire controlling the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, forced from Spain a second surrender in the island, this time of the eastern half, though the formal acknowledgment was not made until Toussaint Louverture conquered Spanish Santo Domingo in the name of France. In the struggle that followed the eastern half of the island was wrested from the blacks and remained in French possession until 1809. In that year, England, fighting as an ally of Spain against the too-victorious troops of Napoleon, invaded the island from Jamaica and driving out the French forces returned the Spanish half of the island to the mother country. Security of possession was assured to Spain by the Treaty of Paris of 1814.

Seven years later, the revolutionary spirit which had already liberated the South American states, reached this oldest seat of Spanish power, and in December, 1821, Spanish Santo Domingo was declared free under the name of Columbia. But Boyer, who had consolidated Haiti under his rule, saw his opportunity and hastening into the new republic just six weeks after its establishment, demanded its abrogation and the union of the whole island under the Haitian flag. To avoid civil war, the Spanish party yielded and for twenty-two years, Santo Domingo formed one nation.<sup>302</sup>

The Haitian rule proved an unmitigated evil for Spanish Santo Domingo and she was glad to avail herself of the civil disorder in Haiti in 1843, to throw off allegiance to the Black Republic. With the era of independence, American interest in the eastern half of the island begins. For the next thirty years the history of the Dominican Republic turns on the question whether it is to remain independent or fall under the influence of some foreign power. France, England, Spain and the United States in turn showed themselves receptive to a proposal from the Dominican Republic for annexation or the establishment of a pro-

<sup>302</sup> Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*, 156 ss. 41 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Doc. 17, 2, 33.

tectorate and each in turn was thwarted in its desire to gain a foothold in Santo Domingo by the other three nations interested. The country itself was only a pawn played to suit the convenience of foreign interests.

In 1843 certain of the Santo Domingan leaders approached the French representatives at Port au Prince, offering to France Samana Bay, much coveted by all nations as a naval base, in exchange for aid in a revolt against Haiti. The French representatives were sympathetic and an informal agreement was reached between them and the insurgent leaders. The French government, carrying out the arrangements made by its agents, ordered Rear-Admiral Mosges and the French Gulf fleet to Santo Domingo. His arrival and that of a French consular agent at Santo Domingo City was the signal for the beginning of the revolutionary movement.<sup>303</sup> Before France could take any definite action, however, the question had assumed international proportions and the French government thereupon refused to give the assistance promised to the Dominicans from a fear of compromising itself with Great Britain.

The motives influencing France to surrender her ambitious plans are thus set forth by the *Paris Presse* for July 13, 1844:

On one part, Spain has never abandoned her rights over her ancient possession, has addressed energetic representations upon the course which has been pursued, and has made an appeal to the loyalty of France; and on the other hand, England, which is no more blind than we are to the future reserved for the Haytien republic, and which understands how to interpret the convention of 1838, wishes to extend her hand *gloved with the protectorate*, to the French part of the island, that country so beautiful and so rich, of which the Spanish part was never but an insignificant appendage. Opposed in her projects by the representations of our cabinet, England replies to us by objecting to us our own conduct. Thus it is protectorate for protectorate, with this distinction, that in running after the protectorate of the south we run the risk of seeing that of the north fall into the hands of England.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>303</sup> D'Alaux, *L'Empereur Soulouque et son Empire*, 273-274. Lepelletier de Saint-Remy, *Saint-Domingue et les nouveaux intérêts maritimes de l'Espagne*, 652. Clark, *Remarks upon United States Intervention in Hayti*, 19-20.

<sup>304</sup> Quoted in Niles's *Register*, lxvi, 413.

While rumors of French intervention were frequent in the years that followed, the result was always the same. All action was blocked by the threat of English interference.

In December, 1844, Dr. José M. Caminero was sent as a public envoy to the United States to announce the independence of the Dominican Republic and request American recognition. In answer to his request, President Tyler, in February of the following year, despatched John Hogan to the island to make a six months' investigation of conditions there and to report on the advisability of recognizing Dominican independence. In his instructions he was informed that the president was favorable to the acknowledgment of the republic.<sup>306</sup> Mr. Hogan's report, as might be expected, supported the president's point of view, emphasizing, as it did, the large proportion of white blood in the Dominican Republic and its predominance in political affairs.<sup>306</sup> His statement that the Dominican Republic had a population of 230,000, of whom over one hundred thousand were white, was, however, undoubtedly false.<sup>307</sup> Despite the repeated assertions of Southern statesmen, the eastern republic could be called white only in comparison with the western.

In regard to the international situation, Mr. Hogan wrote:

As might have been anticipated, the watchful eyes of England and France have not been closed to the interesting events which have occurred in this region. Their official and unofficial agents have been upon the spot, anxiously watching the course of events, and industrious in turning them to the advantage of their respective nations. Jealous of each other, but united in their jealousy of the United States, no means were left untried to annihilate in advance every hope on the part of this country to participate in the advantages to be derived from the present circumstances in which the republic of Dominica finds herself. . . . It is beyond all doubt, however, that they are seeking to acquire to some extent and in some way an influence over the new government and its concerns, and to accomplish these designs for their

<sup>306</sup> 41 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Doc. 17, 33-34.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-67.

<sup>307</sup> Clark, *A Plea for Hayti*, 36-37.

own special benefit, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of any participation by us.<sup>308</sup>

The change of administration prevented any immediate action from being taken. In 1846, in response to reiterated appeals for protection and recognition, President Polk sent Lieutenant Porter on another tour of investigation, much to the surprise of the Dominican government which had been so recently investigated by an American representative. On emerging from a rather extended journey through the interior of Santo Domingo, Lieutenant Porter learned of the American declaration of war against Mexico.<sup>309</sup> As a result of the war the United States was for some time too busily engaged to give any thought to the little republic in the West Indies.

In the spring of 1849 a succession of Haitian victories aroused so much fear in the Dominican Republic that application was made to both the British and the French consuls for the establishment of a protectorate. An interview was also requested with the American commercial agent at Santo Domingo City in which the protection of the United States was requested and the question raised whether the United States "would allow this Republic to annex themselves."<sup>310</sup>

The English answer to this request for aid, through its representative, Sir Robert Schomburgk, was a refusal based on the ground that "British interests and commerce were not sufficiently involved to justify the expense."<sup>311</sup> April 19, 1849, in a secret session, the Dominican Congress authorized the president to place the republic under the protection of France, who was to receive in return the cession of Samana Bay.<sup>312</sup> This offer was forwarded at once to France but again Great Britain stepped in and the

<sup>308</sup> 41 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Doc. 17, 42.

<sup>309</sup> Porter, *Secret Missions to San Domingo*.

<sup>310</sup> State Department Archives, Elliott to the Secretary of State, May 2, 1849.

<sup>311</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 12, 4.

<sup>312</sup> Britannicus, *The Dominican Republic and the Emperor Soulouque*, 43. 33 Cong., 1 sess. Sen. Doc. 12, 3.

"intimations" of the British minister at Paris were sufficient to cause France to withdraw from the undertaking.<sup>313</sup>

Before the French answer was received, our third special agent had arrived in the island, Benjamin E. Green, a son of General Duff Green and at one time secretary of the American legation in Mexico. His avowed purpose was to investigate conditions in Santo Domingo with a view of ascertaining the stability of the government. It was commonly reported, however, though denied by Mr. Green, that his mission was to prevent the establishment of a French protectorate over the Dominican Republic. If that was not his mission, he at least did everything in his power to prevent the consummation of such an arrangement between France and the Dominican Republic, warning the latter government that such a protectorate would not be "pleasing to the United States."<sup>314</sup>

He had the power to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce if he found conditions satisfactory;<sup>315</sup> the necessary conditions being the competency of the people "to discharge the duties of an independent state," and "the ascendancy of the Spanish race in the government, and as fair a numerical proportion of that race to the others as in the other Spanish American States."<sup>316</sup> The question of the French protectorate and later the request for joint action by France, England and the United States in Dominican affairs, made it seem inadvisable to conclude a treaty at that time.

As soon as the definite refusal of France to interfere in Dominican affairs was made known, application was made to Mr. Green, as representative of the United States, for the intervention of that nation with Haiti.<sup>317</sup> As Mr. Green could not, without communicating with Washington, give any answer at all to the request, and as he could give no as-

<sup>313</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 12, 9.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. State Department Archives, Elliott to the Secretary of State, July 13, 1850.

<sup>316</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 12, 10-11.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

surance of a favorable reply, the president, feeling the need of immediate assistance, determined upon a joint invitation to England, France and the United States to undertake mediation with Haiti.<sup>318</sup> This resolution was put into effect during Mr. Green's stay in the island and received his approval. Favorable action upon the proposal by the three nations concerned, resulted in the tripartite intervention of 1851.

Aside from the diplomatic mission entrusted to Mr. Green by the State Department, he was interested, with his father, in the promotion of a colonization scheme, which had in view the securing of vast concessions of land in Santo Domingo and the wholesale importation of Americans into the island. The purpose of the scheme apparently was to Americanize the island by encouraging immigration from the United States with a view to the subsequent annexation of the island. Mr. Green's offer to the Dominican government included "a considerable loan of money, one or two steamers, and the advantages of a regular postal communication with the United States, in consideration of which the Greens and their associates were to be allowed to introduce American colonists, who shall carry on mining, the cutting of dyewoods and other precious trees, and agriculture, and enjoy certain peculiar privileges, among the rest that of a *separate military organization with their own officers*. These propositions the Dominicans did not see fit to accept, being afraid of a repetition among themselves of the the Texas drama, with the introduction of slavery."<sup>319</sup>

The scheme seems to have been one step in the attempt to realize the Southern dream of a slave state built up around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, under the protection of the United States and restoring to the slavocracy the balance of power of which expansion to the west and northwest had deprived it. The ultimate object of the scheme was too apparent to permit of its acceptance

<sup>318</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 12, 16.

<sup>319</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, September 5, 1854.



by the Dominican Republic and it was dropped, to be revived later by General Cazneau.<sup>320</sup>

In Haiti, to which Mr. Green went from the Dominican Republic, his action aroused much greater discontent. At his first meeting with the special commissioners appointed to treat with him, he presented claims of American citizens amounting to half a million dollars. The Haitian government professed never to have heard of the claims and asked for a delay for investigation. This Mr. Green granted but only on condition that Haiti should recognize the United States commercial agency.<sup>321</sup> He further notified the government that the United States "would not remain disinterested spectators of this unwarrantable contest" with the Dominican Republic.<sup>322</sup> There is little wonder that the United States was unpopular among the Haitians, when it added to an open espousal of the Dominican cause, which took from Haiti two-thirds of the island, such blustering menaces to the dignity of Haiti itself.

Close upon Mr. Green's mission came the tripartite intervention, an interlude savoring of the opera bouffé. Washington's advice to avoid entangling alliances seems to have been forgotten in this rather unusual joint action taken by the United States in conjunction with Great Britain and France in settling the relations of two Latin American states. Not only did the American government coöperate with France and Great Britain but the two European nations were permitted to take the initiative, while the United States merely followed their lead.

On January 24, 1850, a note was addressed by Delmonte, Dominican secretary of state, to Mr. Green asking for American intervention.<sup>323</sup> No action was taken by Mr. Green except to forward the request to the government at Washington. But the Dominican government was not

<sup>320</sup> Handelmann, *Geschichte der Insel Hayti*, 185. Clark, *Remarks upon United States Intervention in Hayti*, 32. *Feuille de Commerce*, October 14, 1854. *Le Courrier des États-Unis*, December 18, 1852.

<sup>321</sup> State Department Archives, Usher to Clayton, May 13, 1850.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1850.

<sup>323</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen Doc. 12, 16.

satisfied. On February 18, President Baez in a long interview, informed Mr. Green that

he had been, and is now, much pressed to call in the mediation of England, which he is unwilling to do, unless it should be conjointly with the United States and France; that the action of the United States on the application for intervention, if favorable, might be too dilatory to prevent the anticipated invasion; that as I could give no assurance as to what that action would be, he felt it to be his duty to omit no step which might tend to peace and the benefit of his country, and was therefore inclined to invite the mediation of England, jointly with France and the United States, if such a step would be acceptable.<sup>324</sup>

On the next day at a second interview, Mr. Green reminded the president of the opposition of the United States to European interference in American affairs, but refused to take the responsibility of advising him not to ask for joint mediation.<sup>325</sup> The result was the joint note of February 22, 1850, addressed by the Dominican secretary of state to the representatives of England, France and the United States in Santo Domingo City, in which the mediation of the three nations with Haiti was requested.<sup>326</sup>

A consideration of the request was transferred to Washington, where conferences took place between Mr. Clayton, the American secretary of state, and the British and French ministers.<sup>327</sup> On sounding the secretary of state, the British minister, Sir H. L. Bulwer, was informed that "the United States had no intention to take the Dominicans under their protection" and that Mr. Clayton would "be very happy if the United States, Great Britain and France could be brought to act unitedly together, for the purpose of procuring a permanent cessation of hostilities between the two races."<sup>328</sup> In May, 1850, Sir Henry Bulwer informed the secretary of state that "the French Government had expressed its willingness to coöperate with the governments of Great Britain and the United States for

<sup>324</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 12, 17.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>327</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vi, 509.

<sup>328</sup> State Department Archives, H. L. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston, enclosed in a letter of Usher to Clayton, June 28, 1850.

the purpose indicated."<sup>309</sup> It was not until the beginning of 1851 that arrangements for joint action were completed.

Just what the underlying motives were which determined the three nations to accept the Dominican invitation, is difficult to determine. At the foundation seems to have been the feeling that intervention of some sort was necessary and since intervention by one nation was not to be considered, joint action by the three nations most interested was unavoidable. The American government seems to have been in earnest in its desire to bring about peace in Santo Domingo in order to restore prosperity to the island and to lessen the danger of European intervention. That England and France were as desirous as the United States of an amicable settlement of the relations between the two parts of the island was considered false by the American agent. Both nations had more to gain by a continuance of disorder within the island which made both Haiti and the Dominican Republic dependent on foreign assistance, while neither could afford to have the United States take any steps which would lead to a good understanding between the two states and to an increase in American influence thereby.

The course of action of the American government did not meet with unqualified approval at home and there was a feeling prevalent in certain sections of the United States that "in uniting with France and England in an offensive interference with the affairs of Hayti, an independent and friendly state. . . . the government of the United States were pulling nuts out of the fire, solely for the benefit of the other interventionists."<sup>310</sup>

It had been Mr. Clayton's intention to appoint a chargé d'affaires to Santo Domingo but President Taylor's death put the matter into the hands of the new secretary of state, Mr. Webster. He decided that it would be wiser to confide the business to a special agent.<sup>311</sup> The choice fell upon

<sup>309</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vi, 509.

<sup>310</sup> Clark, *Remarks on United States Intervention in Hayti*, 21.

<sup>311</sup> 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen Doc. 112, 3.

Robert M. Walsh and its wisdom, if placating the Haitian government was Mr. Walsh's mission, may be doubted.

Mr. Walsh was advised by the secretary of state to put aside all "prejudices resulting from color or forms of government,"<sup>332</sup> but his attempt to follow instructions was rather unsuccessful. His attitude toward the government to which he was accredited may be illustrated by his reply to a charge, made by the Haitian minister of foreign affairs, of the existence of prejudices in the United States against men of the African race. He replied in part:

If the prejudices to which the Haitian government has so improperly alluded, do still exist, it is attributable in no small degree to that government itself. When it devotes its energies to the successful cultivation of the arts of peace, instead of desolating one of the fairest portions of the earth, with ruthless and insenate strife; when it exhibits a spectacle of national prosperity and enlightenment which shall command the respect of the civilized world, when it does this it will materially assist in dislodging those "prejudices" by proving that they are radically unjust. Until then it can not be entitled to denounce in any way the "state of things" of which it has ventured officially to deplore the existence in "a country so civilized as the United States."<sup>333</sup>

Mr. Walsh's despatches read oddly amid grave diplomatic correspondence as he describes in ironical terms the glory of the court of Emperor Faustin I and his black dukes and duchesses. Such an attitude was not likely to prove conciliatory to the Haitian government.

Mr. Walsh was instructed to cooperate with the British and French consuls but his power was limited to diplomatic pressure and did not extend to a menace of force.<sup>334</sup> The French and British representatives were given ampler powers. They were instructed, acting in the closest harmony, to demand an immediate cessation of hostilities, to be followed by either a peace or at least a ten year's truce and they were authorized to support their demand by a show of force extending to a threat of blockade of the

<sup>332</sup> 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen. Doc. 112, 3.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

Haitian ports.<sup>335</sup> Beyond that, however, they were not permitted to go without authorization from their respective governments.

The American agent reached Port au Prince February 2, 1851. He found that hostilities had already ceased and that a note had been sent December 19, 1850; by the British and French representatives, insisting on a truce for ten years and threatening coercive measures if any new expedition were sent against Dominican territory.<sup>336</sup> No answer had been received, so on the eleventh of February the three representatives united in a note demanding "a categorical answer to the following proposition: *A definitive treaty of peace, or a truce of ten years, between the empire of Hayti and the Dominican republic.*"<sup>337</sup> The categorical answer not being forthcoming, they called on the Minister of Foreign Affairs a week later, but he put them off by stating that such action as they desired involved a breach of the constitution about which the senate must be consulted.<sup>338</sup> To confirm their suspicions that this was mere evasion, they learned that the emperor's private secretary, becoming communicative under the influence of champagne, had stated candidly that "his master would let the plenipotentiaries, as he styled them, amuse themselves for awhile with speeches and notes, but would eventually get rid of them, without committing himself in the least."<sup>339</sup>

The next step was the appointment of four commissioners by the Haitian government to treat with the foreign agents, but as they were given no power beyond that of discussion, their appointment resulted merely in the consuming of three more weeks without any effect upon the negotiations. Walsh tried to aid the settlement by alternately promising to establish consular relations with the Haitians if they yielded and threatening them with a filibustering expedition if they did not.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>335</sup> 32 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 112, 5-7.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

At last the four months which the American agent was allowed for his mission came to an end and he was obliged to leave with nothing more definite than a promise from the emperor to abstain from hostilities for the time being. With this the British and French consuls professed themselves content. That Faustin should have been able to play in such fashion with the "three chief powers of the globe," Walsh attributed to the fact that Great Britain and France did not act in harmony with their threats and he was convinced that the emperor was assured that France at least would never resort to force.<sup>341</sup>

With the failure of the tripartite intervention, American relations with Haiti became of subordinate importance until the formal recognition of the Haitian Republic in 1862 and the accrediting to it of a regular diplomatic agent. In the period between, the American support of the Dominican Republic and the attempt to annex it to the United States increased the feeling of hostility against the American nation which had been growing steadily since the days of the Panama Congress.

## CHAPTER VIII

### A DECADE OF AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

With the fifties a new phase of American-Dominican relations was entered upon, which was not ended until twenty years later. During all that time the American government coquetted with the idea of the annexation of the Dominican Republic or at least of the purchase of Samana Bay. Again and again arrangements were almost completed for the transfer of Dominican territory to the United States but they as often fell through.

The annexation movement had two phases, only the first of which is to be discussed. In the second period from 1865, the end of the Spanish protectorate, to 1873, the annexation movement was the work of two men, first of

<sup>341</sup> Walsh, *My Mission to Saint Domingo*, 307.

Seward, who, as secretary of state, showed himself an ardent imperialist, and second of Grant, to whom the annexation of Santo Domingo became a pet project toward the fulfilment of which he stubbornly bent all his energies. But in the face of the indifference of the American public, both men were destined to fail.

In the first period, which extended to the Civil War, the motive force in the movement toward annexation was the same as that which inspired the war against Mexico and the filibustering expeditions against Cuba, the desire of Southern statesmen for expansion southward. Out of the territory which they would thereby gain, they hoped to reestablish their ascendancy in the national government which was fast disappearing before the influx of northern and western free states. Projects for the formation of four slave-holding states from the territory of Cuba, Porto Rico and Santo Domingo were freely discussed.<sup>242</sup>

The reason for the failure of such schemes in regard to Santo Domingo was partly northern opposition at home but more particularly the fear of complications with European nations. "Out of six administrations, five one after another, refused to accept Samana at the hazard of exciting French or British opposition."<sup>243</sup> Of Webster it was said; "he would not hear of a naval station either at Samana or Manzanillo, even in free gift, because such an advanced position in the midst of the West India colonies, might give offence to the great European powers."<sup>244</sup>

The tripartite intervention had failed in its attempt to secure the safety of the Dominican Republic against Haitian attacks. Negotiations had therefore to be continued with the various nations especially interested in the Dominican Republic in an attempt to secure the needed assistance against Haiti. In 1852 Kossuth, then making his triumphal progress through the United States, was asked, apparently by an American colonization company, to aid

<sup>242</sup> *New York Tribune*, October 20, 1854.

<sup>243</sup> Cazneau, *To the American Press. The Dominican Negotiations*, 2.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

in its scheme of colonizing the Dominican Republic and protecting it against Haitian invasions.<sup>345</sup>

It was in that same year that Everett, secretary of state and representative of northern feeling, outlined the policy of nonintervention which he thought the United States ought to pursue in Santo Domingo. Writing to the American minister to France in regard to the tripartite intervention, he said:

The policy pursued by the United States in this respect has been wholly disinterested. It has been, no doubt, in our power to obtain a permanent foothold in Dominica; and we have as much need of a naval station at Samana as any European power could possibly have. It has, however, been the steady rule of our policy to avoid, as far as possible, all disturbances of the existing political relations of the West Indies. We have felt that any attempts on the part of any one of the great maritime powers to obtain exclusive advantages in any of the islands, where such an attempt was likely to be made, would be apt to be followed by others, and end in converting the archipelago into a great theater of national competition for exclusive advantages and territorial acquisitions, which might become fatal to the peace of the world.<sup>346</sup>

Early in 1853 there was a rumor, which proved false, that France had occupied Samana Bay.<sup>347</sup> It grew out of a determined effort by the French consul-general in Santo Domingo, Maxime Raybaud, to make French influence dominant in the eastern half of the island.<sup>348</sup> A little later the United States raised the question of securing a foothold in Samana Bay, but the time did not seem favorable.<sup>349</sup> The banishment of Baez, who had been president since 1849 and was considered to favor French rather than American intervention, and the succession to the presidential chair of Santana, was looked upon as favorable to American interests and as offering an opportunity of securing commercial advantages and perhaps the purchase of Samana Bay.

<sup>345</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, lxiv, 212-213.

<sup>346</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vi, 514.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 515.

<sup>348</sup> D'Alaux, *op. cit.* 283.

<sup>349</sup> State Department Archives, Elliott to Marcy, March 22, 1853.



Accordingly an agent was despatched to the island to make a careful examination of the situation, "to relax the fetters on American trade and ascertain to what extent the young Dominican Republic was prepared to take a position in our continental circle of policy as a really independent American state."<sup>350</sup> The agent selected was General William L. Cazneau, a Texan of French descent, a Catholic and a Southern sympathizer.<sup>351</sup> Investing heavily in Dominican lands and realizing the wealth that he would reap from American control of the island, he became a moving spirit in all the projects leading toward annexation, and, especially in the negotiations conducted during Grant's presidency, he acquired an unenviable reputation as an unscrupulous promoter.

Having found conditions favorable to American interests and Santana willing to grant any concessions desired provided the United States assured him protection against England, France, Spain and Haiti, Cazneau returned to the United States in order to make his report in person and to urge upon the president and his cabinet the advisability of taking advantage of the favorable chance to secure Samana Bay as a naval base.

The first result of his return was seen in a resolution introduced into the senate on May 23, 1854, by Stephen A. Douglas; "that the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of recognizing the independence of the republic of Dominica, and of opening diplomatic intercourse with the same."<sup>352</sup> Recognition of Dominican independence foreboded, to the anti-slavery leaders, the establishment of Southern influence in Santo Domingo and the gradual wresting of the island from negro control. To such men it was essential that the Haitians be given a fair chance to prove their capacity for self-government. They therefore opposed any movement looking toward the extension of American control in Santo Domingo.

<sup>350</sup> Cazneau, *op. cit.* 2.

<sup>351</sup> Handelsmann, *op. cit.* 185.

<sup>352</sup> 33 Cong., 1 sess., Cong. Globe, 1280.

The resolution introduced by Douglas aroused Charles Sumner to the defence of Haiti. On June 17, he wrote to John Bigelow in regard to the resolution: "For a fortnight I have not been out of my seat for a moment during the morning hour, fearing that the resolution might be sprung upon us. Should it come up I propose to move an amendment by adding 'and Haiti.'"<sup>353</sup> The resolution did not, however, come up to a vote and the danger from it soon passed. The reason for its failure is given by Hunt as the publication by John Bigelow in the *New York Evening Post* of a list of the leading officials of the Dominican Republic with their pedigree, showing that they were all men of color. "As the recognition of colored people formed no part of President Pierce's policy, the subject was dropped by his cabinet."<sup>354</sup> During the rest of the year the Northern press under the leadership of Bigelow and of Greeley of the *New York Tribune* kept up a steady fight against the Southern schemes for the annexation of Santo Domingo.

Cazneau had not found the secretary of state enthusiastic in regard to his plans for the purchase of Samana Bay, but Guthrie of the Treasury,<sup>355</sup> and probably Jefferson Davis of the War Department supported him warmly.<sup>356</sup> It was decided by the cabinet to send Cazneau back to Santo Domingo to negotiate for the purchase of Samana Bay and to send with him Captain George B. McClellan to make an investigation of the bay and select the best site on it for a naval station. They reached Santo Domingo City on July 17 and, much against Cazneau's will, McClellan insisted on proceeding at once to his task.<sup>357</sup> The negotiations started badly. McClellan's premature demonstration on Samana Bay gave the anti-American party an opportunity to raise the cry "that the United States intended to take the country, and that General Santana

<sup>353</sup> Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, i, 160.

<sup>354</sup> Hunt, in a manuscript catalog of books dealing with Haiti, preserved in the Boston Public Library.

<sup>355</sup> Cazneau, *op. cit.* 4.

<sup>356</sup> Porter, *op. cit.* 626.

<sup>357</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Marcy, July 24, 1854.

was conspiring to betray the colored population into slavery.<sup>358</sup> The charge was more readily believed by the mass of Dominicans because they already held the opinion that "their domains will be seized, the native whites set aside, and the blacks enslaved if the Americans gain a foothold on their Island."<sup>359</sup>

Steps were immediately taken by the British and French representatives to prevent a friendly understanding between the United States and the Dominican Republic. Three weeks after McClellan's reconnaissance, the British consul, Sir Robert Shomburgk "made an official call on the President and Cabinet and in the name of his government protested against any stipulations or agreement which would give to the United States a coal depot."<sup>360</sup> Dropping the idea of securing a coaling station, therefore, for the time being, General Cazneau entered upon the business of negotiating a treaty of friendship, commerce and extradition.

By the end of September the treaty was nearing completion.<sup>361</sup> Learning of the success of the American agent, an interview was forced by the British and French consuls with the Dominican cabinet, "in which this government was informed the Emperor Faustin would not consent to a peace if the treaty of peace with the United States was carried into effect and that France and England would also withdraw their protection and leave the Dominican territory and people at the mercy of Hayti," a virtual threat of forcible reannexation to Haiti.<sup>362</sup> In spite of these menaces, the Santo Domingan plenipotentiaries, relying on the protection of the United States, signed the treaty on the fifth of October. The treaty thus drawn up, was in the ordinary form but it excited the liveliest apprehensions among the European representatives because they saw it as a first step toward American dominance in the Domini-

<sup>358</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Marcy, August 8, 1854.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, July 24, 1854.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, August 19, 1854.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, September 23, 1854.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, November 23, 1854.

can Republic, which would lead to their exclusion from all commercial and trade privileges. They therefore took every step possible to prevent the ratification of the treaty.

The French consul-general at Port au Prince was hurried over to Santo Domingo City to assist the anti-American party. On October 28, the day following his arrival, the British consul

notified the Dominican Government that he was instructed by Lord Clarendon to inform it of the disapprobation with which Her Majesty's government learned that "*notwithstanding the advice*" offered by France and England President Santana had thought proper "*to negotiate a treaty with the United States by which the safety and welfare of the Republic would be greatly and immediately endangered*" and he adds—always in the name of Lord Clarendon: Such arrangements should not have been made without their knowledge and sanction "*particularly with a power which has hitherto refused to acknowledge the independence of the Dominican Republic, and the suddenness and peremptory character of whose proceedings must cause well-founded suspicions of its ulterior object.*"<sup>383</sup>

Early in November French war vessels began to arrive in the harbor of Santo Domingo City and any hope of securing a treaty of any kind was gone. Cazneau, therefore, resolved to withdraw the treaty from the consideration of the Dominican Congress but to show their power, the British and French consuls forced the Congress to pass what Cazneau called a caricature of the treaty with "offensive mutilations and additions."<sup>384</sup> His objection was probably to the amendment desired by the Dominican Congress to the third article of the treaty which granted the reciprocal rights of citizens to the nationals of each state in the territory of the other. To make the statement more explicit the Dominicans wished to add:

It is however expressly agreed that neither the present article, nor the following, shall be construed to allow any exclusion or exception whatever, which may be applied to mulatto citizens in any part of the territory of the two contracting powers; and that, in one word, in all the States of the American Union, the rights

<sup>383</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Marcy, November 23, 1854.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, December 6, 1854.

and treatment of the Dominicans generally shall be the same, *without regard to descent or color.*<sup>365</sup>

Such an article, the secretary of state said later was "not to be entertained, it being contrary to the feeling of a large proportion of our citizens. . . . The Safety and peace of the Southern States" demanded the exclusion of Dominican citizens from their territory.<sup>366</sup>

France and England "under the title of the 'mediating powers'" continued to exercise "a dictatorial supervision altogether incompatible with the independence of the Dominican Republic."<sup>367</sup> In December, to complete the work begun, an ultimatum was sent to the Dominican government by the French and British consuls which forbade any alienation of territory or surrender of national jurisdiction without the consent of both France and England and which effectually blocked any further attempt of the United States to secure special advantages in the island.<sup>368</sup> General Cazneau remained as agent until June, 1855, but was unable to secure any concessions, opposed as he was by England and France, "whose avowed and leading object" was "to check the advance of American principles and restrict the scope of American enterprise in the Antilles."<sup>369</sup>

But the American government was not willing to abandon the attempt to secure a treaty with the Dominican Republic. In October, 1855, Jonathan Elliott, commercial agent at Santo Domingo City, was instructed to press for the ratification of the treaty which Cazneau had negotiated but with the omission of the amendment proposed by the Dominican government, "to place Dominicans, in the United States, of all complexions on the same footing as citizens of the United States."<sup>370</sup> The particular reason for

<sup>365</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, December 27, 1854.

<sup>366</sup> State Department Archives, Instructions to Jonathan Elliott, October 9, 1855.

<sup>367</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Marcy, December 23, 1854.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, December 26, 1854.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, June 9, 1855.

<sup>370</sup> State Department Archives, Instructions to Jonathan Elliott, October 9, 1855.

entering into negotiation was, as before, to secure a naval station in Samana Bay.

The treaty was begun in December but was interrupted by a Haitian invasion.<sup>371</sup> No convention in regard to Samana was possible at that time but with that exception the treaty desired by the United States was concluded. It was signed in March, 1856, ratified by the Dominican government and despatched to Washington.<sup>372</sup> Spanish opposition had in the meantime been added to French and British. The Black Warrior affair and the Ostend Manifesto had awakened Spanish fear for the safety of Cuba and she was far from desiring to see the United States established in Santo Domingo from which a descent upon the Cuban coast would be very easy. The Spanish chargé d'affaires and consul-general, Segovia, who reached Santo Domingo in December, 1855, announced that "a war between the United States and Spain is indispensable this year, and it will better suit Spain, to meet the Americans here as the field of battle, instead of Cuba."<sup>373</sup>

Segovia immediately began to work against the treaty. After it was signed, he offered, if the Dominican government would refuse to ratify it, "a Spanish protectorate—a quantity of troops and a good navy," and, in addition, to assume "all the consequences that might occur in making opposition to the United States."<sup>374</sup> Despite his threats and promises the treaty was ratified.

But the foreign representatives were not discouraged. On the eighteenth of July the consuls of Spain, England and France met in secret conference with the Dominican cabinet to force them by threats to withdraw the American treaty.<sup>375</sup> At the same time they bent their energies toward removing from the presidency Santana to whom they were hostile because of his friendliness to the United

<sup>371</sup> State Department Archives, Elliott to Marcy, January 16, 1856.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1856.

<sup>373</sup> State Department Archives, Pereira to the Secretary of State, August 7, 1856.

<sup>374</sup> State Department Archives, Elliott to Marcy, July 19, 1856.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, September 10, 1856.

States, and replacing him by Baez, whom the American officials considered desirous of a French protectorate. The Spanish consul was particularly active because of the unfriendly relations still existing between his government and the United States. The efforts of the European representatives met with success so far as the change of administration was concerned and Baez became again president of the Dominican Republic.

Even after the downfall of Santana, the Dominican government was still willing to treat with the United States and to make any concessions desired, but demanded as a *sine qua non* of entering into any negotiation, that the American agent be given full powers to treat and in addition be supplied with a sufficient number of war vessels to guard the government against the consequences of making concessions in the face of European opposition.<sup>376</sup> But the American government was quite as unwilling as the Dominican to incur the hostility of the great European powers and so allowed itself to be blustered out of its plans by threats of force.

The difficulties in the way of a realization of the Southern dream, would have been many. European opposition was to be reckoned on. In addition there was sure to be opposition at home, while any attempt to reestablish slavery in Santo Domingo would have met with a wide-spread revolt from its emancipated population.

In April, 1859, General Cazneau was again appointed commissioner to the Dominican Republic but on this second mission he was instructed merely to report on conditions and to secure satisfaction for certain American claims. Any further purpose would have been futile, for the Spanish movement was already on foot and American influence in the island was practically nil.

<sup>376</sup> State Department Archives, Pereira to the Secretary of State, August 7, 1856; Elliott to Marcy, September 10, 1856.

## CHAPTER IX

THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE AND THE RECOGNITION OF  
SANTO DOMINGAN INDEPENDENCE

In spite of all the attempts made by France, England and the United States to control the destinies of Santo Domingo, the only foreign power which in the nineteenth century succeeded in establishing its authority in the island was Spain. The Spanish protectorate over the Dominican Republic, which lasted from 1861 to 1865, forms an interesting episode in Spanish colonial history. Spain was actuated in part by a sentimental desire to regain control of the ancient cradle of her colonial empire and in part by the need of protecting Cuba and Porto Rico by preventing the United States from securing on Samana Bay a base of attack against those islands. The impression was prevalent in Spain that "the United States were constantly lying in wait to pounce upon the Spanish American colonies, and that the only way to keep Dominica out of our hands, and prevent its becoming an outpost of the United States, threatening Cuba on the one side and Porto Rico on the other, was to hold on to the coveted island, and fortify, garrison, and defend it to the last extremity as the keystone in the arch of Spanish colonial power in America."<sup>177</sup>

Among the Dominicans the movement toward reannexation to Spain was not popular. It owed its success to the fact that it was pushed through by a "very small but powerful faction of Dominicans, headed by the late President, General Santana."<sup>178</sup> As early as 1858, immediately after the overthrow of Baez and the establishment in his place of Santana, the latter made a special attempt to secure Spanish aid against an expected attack from Haiti.<sup>179</sup> Negotiations looking toward annexation continued. Early in 1860, the Spanish ministry notified the Dominican gov-

<sup>177</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. II, 535. Perry to Seward, May 7, 1865.

<sup>178</sup> Chesson, *The Annexation of San Domingo to Spain*, 3.

<sup>179</sup> *Foreign Relations*, 1906, pt. I, 575.



ernment that it was "disposed to accede to the plan of a protectorate for the Dominican Republic."<sup>380</sup> In July, commissioners arrived from Spain to further plans for annexation,<sup>381</sup> and in that same month General Cazneau noted that fifteen hundred Spanish subjects had already been permanently settled on Dominican territory and three more vessels loaded with Spaniards were due to arrive soon.<sup>382</sup>

The times were favorable for such a movement, for the United States, the only nation desirous of preventing Spanish control of her former colony, was too much engrossed by the approaching struggle over slavery to make even a protest against the Spanish attempt.<sup>383</sup> That Spain realized the situation only too clearly is shown by her assurances to the Dominican cabinet that "the United States will soon be forced to abandon the Monroe Doctrine" and her boast that she was "seeking an opportunity to repress American pretensions in the sea of the Antilles."<sup>384</sup>

In the spring of 1861 the reincorporation of the Dominican Republic with Spain was formally completed. The final steps evoked no popular enthusiasm. Neither was there much popular opposition. Spain had of course taken pains to prevent opposition by a judicious use of war ships and troops from Cuba.<sup>385</sup> But even more than that, the desire for peace and tranquillity and protection from Haitian aggression was so great and the probability of securing a settled condition of affairs, save under foreign domination, was so slight, that the Santo Domingans were willing to acquiesce in President Santana's action in the hope that it might really result to the advantage of the country.

The United States, with Seward in the department of

<sup>380</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Cass, March 2, 1860.

<sup>381</sup> *Foreign Relations*, 1906, pt. I, 575.

<sup>382</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Cass, July 31, 1860.

<sup>383</sup> Cazneau, *op. cit.* 8.

<sup>384</sup> State Department Archives, Cazneau to Cass, November 17, 1861.

<sup>385</sup> Chesson, *op. cit.* 3, 5. Papers relating to the Annexation of Eastern Santo Domingo to Spain, *passim*.

state, took prompt action. On April 1, 1861, he submitted his famous *Thoughts* for the president's consideration. On the next day he proceeded to put his plan into force and pave the way for war with Spain. Writing to Tassara, the Spanish minister at Washington, in regard to the "reported subversion of the Dominican Republic by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, with a view to establish a Spanish protectorate or annexing the territory to Spain," he said that, if such proceedings should have been taken under the authority of the Spanish government, the president would "be obliged to regard them as manifesting an unfriendly spirit towards the United States, and to meet the further prosecution of enterprises of that kind in regard to either the Dominican Republic or any part of the American Continent or islands with a prompt, persistent, and, if possible, effective resistance."<sup>386</sup> Such a note might well have led to war if Spain had so desired. But Tassara returned an evasive answer and by July, when he announced the annexation of the Dominican Republic, Seward had learned from his chief that domestic concerns were sufficient to keep the administration busy and that any interference, for the time being, in foreign affairs was to be zealously avoided.

In the meantime, however, Seward had taken further action. On April 27, he wrote to Schurz, the newly appointed minister to Madrid, authorizing him to say to the Spanish government that "the President will regard any attempt of Her Catholic Majesty's Government to retain the territory of the late Dominican Republic as a matter claiming very serious attention on the part of the Government of the United States."<sup>387</sup> He added that American forbearance from interfering with Spanish control of Cuba and Porto Rico was based on the belief "that Spain is not an aggressive power, and that she is content to leave the Spanish-American independent States free from her intervention, and at liberty to regulate their own affairs and

<sup>386</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vi., 515.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 515.

work their own destiny;" thus adding to a protest against Spanish control of Santo Domingo a menace to all the Spanish possessions in the West Indies.<sup>388</sup>

On May 21, Perry, the American chargé d'affaires at Madrid, was instructed "to protest against the assumption or exercise of Spanish authority" in Santo Domingo, "a protest which, in every case, we shall expect to maintain."<sup>389</sup> But two weeks later, Seward was careful to warn the American minister to confine his action merely to a protest,<sup>390</sup> and on the twenty-second of June he expressed his belief that it was inexpedient to divert the attention of Congress "from the domestic subjects" which it was convened to consider. Mr. Schurz was accordingly instructed to protest only in case Mr. Perry had not already done so, and, if he took such action, to make his protest "in such a manner as to indicate our firm denial of the rightfulness of the annexation."<sup>391</sup> As Spain had no reason for desiring to provoke a war with the United States and as the American government was temporarily without the power to make good its threats, the whole question was allowed to drop with the lodging of the protest at Madrid.

One good effect was produced by the American protest. Haiti was especially fearful of the Spanish reëntry into the island of Santo Domingo, dreading the reintroduction by her of slavery. "Spanish possession and colonization of the eastern half of the island, means slavery in the island of Haiti; it means slavery within seven leagues of the capital of the republic."<sup>392</sup> That the United States was willing to oppose such a movement, thereby allying herself with Haitian interests, awakened a livelier feeling of good will than the Black Republic had been accustomed to feel, though the hopes built upon the prospect of American intervention were not realized.<sup>393</sup>

<sup>388</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vi, 516.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 516.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 516.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 516.

<sup>392</sup> Editorial, *L'Opinion Nationale*, April 16, 1861.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, June 29, 1861.

Two years were sufficient to convince the Santo Dominicans that Spain had learned nothing in her three hundred and fifty years of colonial experience. Greed and oppression characterized the Spanish rule as it had always characterized it. "If ever the true history be written of that temporary resuscitation of a colony, the Spaniards themselves will be astonished at the revelations of iniquity and fraud that brought about the revolution against them."<sup>394</sup> It was too high a price to pay for peace. In 1863 an anti-Spanish movement began which by the summer of 1865 was crowned with success.

In 1863, however, affairs in the United States were in too critical a condition to warrant the slightest provocation to Spain by granting aid or recognition to the insurgent party. The position taken by the United States during that and the following year, was explained by Seward to the American minister at Madrid, in March, 1864.

The revolutionists in the island [Santo Domingo] have, in various forms and through several channels, appealed to this government for recognition, for aid, and for sympathy. Pursuing the policy we have too ineffectually insisted upon at the hands of other nations, we have not received any agents of the revolution, even informally, nor have we in any way responded to them, while we have given instructions to the ministerial officers to see that the neutrality laws of the United States are regularly maintained and enforced.<sup>395</sup>

By that time Spain had begun to realize that the conquest of Santo Domingo was impossible and the annexation was a "most egregious blunder."<sup>396</sup> In May, 1864, Seward prophesied that "every attempt to restore European dominion in America" would end in disappointment, though the disappointment might "be delayed until the successful close of our own troubles shall allow the prestige of the United States to be restored."<sup>397</sup> But no diplomatic pressure

<sup>394</sup> St. John, *op. cit.* 106.

<sup>395</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1864, pt. 4, 12. Seward to Koerner, March 12, 1864.

<sup>396</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1864, pt. 4, 8. Koerner to Seward, February 14, 1864.

<sup>397</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1864, pt. 4, 19. Seward to Koerner, May 4, 1864.

was brought to bear on Spain until she had already taken steps leading to her withdrawal from Santo Domingo. In January, 1865, a bill repealing the act annexing the Dominican Republic was introduced into the Cortes. On April 1, it passed the Chamber of Deputies and twenty days later the Senate. On April 30 it received the queen's signature and on May 5 a royal decree was issued announcing the abandonment by Spain of Santo Domingo.<sup>398</sup> By July the evacuation was completed and the Dominican Republic was once again free.

Seward had done everything possible to encourage the passage of the bill. In January, 1865, Perry reported that "the name of the United States had been used as a bug-bear by the leaders of the opposition" to compel the retention of the island.<sup>399</sup> Seward, who was so soon to cast longing eyes upon Santo Domingo itself, assured the Spaniard that "there is one national passion which the United States have not developed and are not likely to develop as strongly as other states, namely, the passion of conquest."<sup>400</sup> In April the secretary of state was in position to write in more vigorous terms and he did so. "It has been my earnest desire that Spain might anticipate the other maritime powers in retiring from the erring policy of 1861." Such a proceeding "would probably open harmonious and friendly relations between Spain and the United States for a period as long as statesmen are accustomed to foresee events."<sup>401</sup> Just how effective American pressure was in compelling Spain to withdraw from the Dominican Republic is difficult to determine. As Perry said:

It is not necessary to inquire whether the fall of Richmond may have had anything to do with this change of opinion in the original annexation party here, since the change is so evidently

<sup>398</sup> *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865.

<sup>399</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 471. Perry to Seward, January 31, 1865.

<sup>400</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 508. Seward to Perry, February 27, 1865.

<sup>401</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 521. Seward to Perry, April 4, 1865.

counselled by the true interests of Spain herself. That event, however, had intervened.<sup>402</sup>

During the Civil War, Boyer's immigration scheme was revived because of President Lincoln's belief that the happiest solution for the negro problem was the exportation of the negroes to lands populated by men of their own race among whom they might enjoy liberty and equality of opportunity. High hopes were entertained in Haiti of the great stimulus to progress and prosperity to be derived from the influx of colored men from the United States. Boonneau writing in 1862, before the scheme had proved a failure, paints in glowing terms the future of the immigration movement. It is destined

to acquire very large proportions. Slavery, it is to be hoped, will soon be abolished in North America, and a host of negroes and mulattoes, becoming masters of their fate, will hasten to leave the United States, where color prejudices will long survive slavery, to enjoy in Haiti all the rights of free men and citizens.

Haiti will profit necessarily by this emancipation, and will be enriched by a population familiar with all the industries and arts which are practised in America. The civil war now raging in the United States shows us then, in the near future, that the resources of the republic will increase in a manner un-hoped-for, her commerce will be vastly extended, and her progress will be strongly accelerated, under the energetic impulsion of a largely increased class of mulattoes.<sup>403</sup>

The terms offered by the Haitian government show its eagerness for immigration. It offered religious freedom; free importation of machinery, agricultural implements, and the personal effects of the immigrants; citizenship after a residence of a year and a day in the country; and, for a time at least, free passage from the United States to Haiti.<sup>404</sup>

In 1862 the United States undertook the promotion of the movement and in April of that year, Congress passed a bill appropriating \$100,000 for the president's use in providing for the emigration of free men of color either to

<sup>402</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 553. Perry to Seward, August 29, 1865.

<sup>403</sup> Bonneau, Haiti. *Ses Progrès—Son Avenir*, 107-108.

<sup>404</sup> *Foreign Relations*, 1899, 401. Powell to Hay, August 14, 1899.

Haiti or Liberia.<sup>405</sup> The plan adopted by the president in Haiti was to encourage the settlement of Isle à Vache, which had already been granted by President Geffrard to an American promoter for that purpose.<sup>406</sup> Five hundred persons were taken over as an experiment but the result was a sad failure. It was difficult to break the virgin soil and get out the first crops, the negroes refused to work and their discontent was fostered by the Haitians who wanted the colonists to come over to Haiti. "After eight weary months of anxiety and expense," the colony was abandoned and those of the colonists who were still there and who desired it were relanded in the United States.<sup>407</sup> That ended governmental attempts at colonization in Haiti, though emigration has continued to the island and a large number of American negroes have, altogether, found new homes in the black republic.

In December, 1861, the presidential message asserted that there was no longer any good reason for withholding "recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia" and that therefore it was expedient to maintain a "chargé d'affaires near each of those new states."<sup>408</sup> To carry out the president's desire became the task of Charles Sumner, who constituted himself the guardian of Haitian interests. Against the opposition of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he reported into the Senate on February 4, 1862, a bill authorizing the diplomatic representation of the United States to Haiti and Liberia. He was the principal supporter of the bill, whose chief opponent was Garrett Davis of Kentucky.<sup>409</sup>

The arguments used were the same that long discussion of Haitian affairs had made familiar. For recognition, the principal argument was the commercial. With twenty-one countries of less commercial importance than Haiti the United States was already maintaining diplomatic rela-

<sup>405</sup> Mitchell, *Report of Colonization and Emigration*, 1.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>407</sup> Tuckerman, *President Lincoln and Colonization*, 329-331.

<sup>408</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, 6.

<sup>409</sup> Pierce, *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner*, iv, 69-70.

tions.<sup>410</sup> Among the countries with which the United States had commercial intercourse, Haiti held ninth rank in respect to tonnage; while, in 1851, Mexico with its population of 8,000,000 imported less by \$350,000 than Haiti.<sup>411</sup> To the pro-slavery party, on the other hand, the bill was a part of the policy which had contributed so largely to the severance of the Union, while the prospect of receiving black ministers was both ludicrous and distasteful. In spite of this slavery opposition, however, the bill was carried through both the Senate and the House and in June, 1862, the long struggle to secure recognition for the Black Republic was ended. In September, 1866, when Dominican independence was safely re-established, a similar step was taken in regard to the Dominican Republic.<sup>412</sup>

In 1865 the proposal was broached by Haiti that England, France, Spain and the United States should unite in guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Santo Domingo, making of it an American Switzerland. In February, 1865, Mr. Madiou, the Haitian minister at Madrid approached the Spanish government on the subject; but Spain was "determined to listen to no proposition, take no step at all referring to any part of America, except the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, without counting beforehand on a good understanding with the United States," so well had she learned the lesson from the French intervention in Mexico and her own intervention in the Dominican Republic.<sup>413</sup>

Seward, in reply, was pleased with "any determination that might be adopted by European maritime powers to assure the independence of the people existing upon the island of San Domingo" but he was unwilling to enter into any entangling alliance.<sup>414</sup> Since the "agreement of the United States to the project was the one thing essential

<sup>410</sup> 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Cong. Globe, 1774.

<sup>411</sup> *Report of the Select Committee on Emancipation and Colonization*, 29.

<sup>412</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, i, 107.

<sup>413</sup> *Diplomatic Relations*, 1865, pt. 2, 514. Perry to Seward, March 11, 1865.

<sup>414</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 522. Seward to Perry, April 4, 1865.



on which the success of the whole project hinged" and since this was lacking, the European nations were unwilling to take any steps in the matter.<sup>415</sup> In August, 1865, Seward, in a long explanatory note to Sir Frederick Bruce, English minister at Washington, reiterated his position that, while the United States would be very glad to have the European nations promise to refrain from making further attempts upon the independence of Santo Domingo, she was unwilling to make any such promise herself or to take any steps which would lead to political relations with foreign nations.<sup>416</sup> So ended the attempt of Haiti to put the independence of the island on a secure basis. A few months later the second period of American endeavor to annex the Dominican Republic began and all thought of neutralization was, of course, at an end.

With the conclusion of the American Civil War, removing slavery as a dominant factor in determining American foreign policy and with the establishment of a regular diplomatic agency in Santo Domingo, the relations between the United States and the island of Santo Domingo entered upon a new phase. The interest, which had existed for more than a century and a half, has continued to the present. Trade relations still bind the two countries together as they did in the opening years of the eighteenth century while the strategic importance of the island to the United States has grown steadily stronger.

In summary, the history of American relations with the island of Santo Domingo might be divided into three main periods. In the first, covering the whole of the eighteenth century, the interest of the United States in the West India island was mainly commercial, and the energies of both countries were devoted to securing the freest trade relations possible. In the second period, comprised within the years 1800 and 1862, American policy was determined largely by the slavery interests to whom the American

<sup>415</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 537. Perry to Seward, May 12, 1865.

<sup>416</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1865, pt. 2, 195. Seward to Bruce, August 15, 1865.

attitude toward Santo Domingo seemed of vital importance. During the first half of the period, when the island was under avowed negro rule, the Southern attitude prevented any open recognition of the Black Republic. During the second half of the period, Northern and Southern attitude were reversed, the South favoring either the recognition or annexation of the Dominican Republic, while the North opposed the step because of the extension it would give to the influence of the slavery party.

In the most recent period, questions of commerce and race have become secondary. The determining factor in this period has been a growing realization of the strategic importance to the United States of control of the Caribbean and of the danger to American interests of European dominance there. It is that realization which has lead the United States repeatedly to oppose any extension of French, English or German influence in Santo Domingo and which has finally induced the American government to extend a virtual protectorate over the island.

## CHAPTER X

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

While the literature dealing with the island of Santo Domingo from its discovery to the present time is voluminous, references bearing upon the particular subject of this thesis, the relations existing between the United States and Santo Domingo, are comparatively rare and scattered through a mass of irrelevant material. Much of the literature, too, especially that treating of the history of the island since its independence is written from a partisan point of view and is so prejudiced as to be almost valueless.

The subject of the trade relations existing between the North American colonies and the French West Indies during the eighteenth century has not as yet received adequate treatment. Professor Mims of Yale, who has made a good beginning in his study of Colbert's *West India Policy*, has promised to complete his presentation of the subject. In the meantime, the best work done in the field has been

that of Professor Channing in the second and third volumes of his *History of the United States*, and more in detail by Professor Beer, in his *British Colonial Policy 1754-1765*, for the period of the French War. A good deal of material from French sources needs yet to be examined. Déschamps in his *Histoire de la Question Coloniale en France*, treats of the reaction in France to the various changes made in colonial policy in the West Indies. For the colonial point of view, Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Considérations sur l'État Présent de la Colonie française de Saint-Domingue* and the *Lettres Critiques et Politiques sur Les Colonies and Le Commerce des villes maritimes de France*, attributed to Dubuisson and Dubucq, give the arguments advanced, toward the end of the century, by the French Creoles in favor of free trade between the colonies and foreign nations.

Books dealing with the French Revolution in Santo Domingo are innumerable. In English, of the secondary authorities dealing with the subject in a general way, the best are Mills, *The Early Years of the French Revolution in San Domingo*, and more recently Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, whose account, based on French archival material, is not only scholarly and authoritative but charmingly written. Most of the literature dealing with the period is, however, written from the French point of view and as the part played by the United States was comparatively unimportant, it has received little attention.

The only secondary authority who has treated at any length the interaction between the United States and Santo Domingo during the period of the French Revolution and more particularly the Napoleonic era, is Henry Adams, who, in his *History of the United States*, has described in brilliant fashion the effect upon American history of the career of Toussaint Louverture and has supplemented this in his *Historical Essays* by a study of Napoleon's policy in Santo Domingo with special reference to its bearing upon the United States. A less brilliant but more balanced study of Napoleon's colonial policy, without any special emphasis on its relation to American history, is to be found in Roloff's *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I*, a schol-

arly piece of investigation based on French archival material.

Important among the primary sources for a knowledge of the American attitude toward the revolutionary movement in Santo Domingo are the writings of certain American statesmen, particularly Jefferson, John Adams, Hamilton, Rufus King, the letters of Oliver Wolcott, given in Gibbs' *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, and the letters exchanged between John Quincy Adams and William Vans Murray from 1797 to 1803. The diplomatic correspondence between the French ministers and the American government in the *American State Papers* throws a good deal of light upon the earlier period of the Revolution. But much more valuable is the correspondence of the French ministers with the home government published in the report of the American Historical Association for 1903 and edited by Professor Turner, who has done so much to make clear the relations between the United States and France during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

For a history of the French refugees during the critical first year, 1793, in the United States, a good deal of material is to be found in the *Débats enter les accusateurs et les accusés, dans l'affaire des colonies*. This is a record of the trial of Sonthonax, Civil Commissioner to Santo Domingo, on charges of misgovernment brought against him by the French refugees in the United States. To clear himself, he brought countercharges against the refugees in regard to their activities directed against the French government during their residence in the United States. Garran-Coulon in his official *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue*, makes use of much of the same material, though decidedly prejudiced in favor of the Commissioners and against the colonists. A little additional material on the organization of the refugees in the United States is to be found in a pamphlet entitled *Conspirations, Trahisons et Calomnies dévoilées et dénoncées par plus de mille Français Réfugiés au Continent de l'Amérique*, which contains a summary of the charges against Sonthonax and Genet.

A more sympathetic account of the life of the French refugees is to be found scattered through the pages of Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique*, 1793-1798. Himself a West Indian Creole and long a resident in Santo Domingo, he came in contact with a great many of the distressed exiles in his travels through the United States and his residence at Philadelphia. Of the position of American merchants in Santo Domingo during the early days of the Revolution, a clear idea can be gained from the *Reminiscences of the Insurrection in St. Domingo* by Samuel G. Perkins, a young Boston merchant, resident at Cap Français from 1785 until its destruction in 1793.

Of histories of Haiti since its independence there are none that are satisfactory; while the only attempt to deal with the relations between the United States and Haiti is in a brief article by Professor Paxson on the Tripartite Intervention in Hayti, prefaced by a still briefer résumé of American-Haitian relations during the preceding fifty years. For a brief sketch of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, the most nearly satisfactory is a chapter *In Haiti, or the Black Republic*, by Sir Spenser St. John, long resident in Port au Prince as British minister. American accounts, such as Hazard's *Santo Domingo Past and Present*, are apt to be the work of newspaper correspondents or casual visitors to the island. The awakening of German interest in Santo Domingo is shown by the publication in 1860 of a *History of Haiti* by Heinrich Handelman, professor of history at Kiel University, which is particularly good for French, English and American intrigues in Santo Domingo during the forties and fifties. Haitian historians are apt to be prejudiced especially by color considerations. The most recent history from a Haitian source, by Léger, long Haitian minister at Washington, is a piece of special pleading designed to produce a favorable impression of Haitian history upon the American public.

Of contemporary writers during the forties and fifties, the most important are Gustave d'Alaux, whom Hunt states is Maxime Raybaud, French consul-general at Port au

Prince; Britannicus, a pseudonym for Theodore Heneken, British agent in the Dominican Republic during the forties; Lepelletier de Saint-Remy; B. C. Clark, selected by the Haitians as their consular agent in the United States; and Benjamin P. Hunt, an American merchant long resident in Santo Domingo, whose collection of Haitian material forms the basis of the collection in the Boston Public Library. All of them must be used with more or less care. Three of the American agents to the Dominican Republic, Porter, Walsh and Cazneau, have also written popular accounts of their missions in addition to their diplomatic correspondence.

American archival material in regard to Haiti before 1860 is not very extensive. The earliest material is a packet entitled *Distressed Emigrants from St. Domingo*, dated 1794, and throwing a little light on the condition of the French refugees in the United States and the steps taken by the American government to aid them. The most important sources of material are the consular letters which begin for Cape Haytien in 1797, for Port au Prince in 1835, and for Santo Domingo City in 1837. For the earliest years Mr. Jameson has published in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xvi, 64-101, the most important letters written by Dr. Edward Stevens during his residence as American consul-general at Cap Français. In addition there are in the State Department archives a large number of letters from Tobias Lear, Stevens' successor, during the two years he was permitted to remain in the island. The consular material is disappointing because of the considerable gaps, especially during the earlier years, and because little space is devoted to political conditions; but it nevertheless offers the most abundant material for the first half of the nineteenth century. The archives also contain the reports made by Cazneau on his special missions to Santo Domingo, which have not been published.

Of the published government documents, the most important are: 27 Cong., 3 sess., House Doc. 36, which deals with Haitian claims and gives a good deal of diplomatic correspondence from 1817 on to the thirties; 33 Cong., 1

sess., Sen. Doc. 12, which gives the diplomatic correspondence of Benjamin E. Green during his mission to Santo Domingo: 32 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 113, the report of Walsh during the tripartite intervention; and 41 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Doc. 17, which contains considerable material bearing on the earlier history of Haiti and diplomatic correspondence from 1845 on, not published elsewhere.

Because of the scantiness of other source material, newspaper and periodical literature is of especial value. Of the Haitian newspapers, an early file is that of the *Moniteur Générale de la partie française de Saint-Domingue* for the period from February to June, 1793, to be found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. Of later newspapers the Boston Public Library has a number of files belonging to the Hunt collection, but most of them, such as *Le Propagateur Haitien*, *L'Opinion Nationale*, *La République*, contain only a few numbers. The *Feuille de Commerce* is more nearly complete but contains little of interest politically.

American newspapers furnish more material. Two French newspapers published in the United States are of value; the *Courrier de la France et ses Colonies*, published from October 15, 1795 to March 14, 1796, for the French refugees; and the *Courrier des États-Unis*, which appeared during the early nineteenth century and was especially interested in French affairs. The *General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, of which a very extensive file from 1790 to 1800 is preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, contains a great many references to Santo Domingan affairs. More scattering files of other papers, such as the *New York Journal* and *Patriotic Register*, and the *Pennsylvania Packet* were also found of value. *Niles's Register* is invaluable for the first half of the nineteenth century, while the discussion by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* of Cazneau's mission throws considerable light upon the anti-slavery attitude toward the annexation project of 1854.

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## NOTES AND REVIEWS

### CHINA AND OPIUM

That China is determined to stamp out the curse that has meant poverty and degradation to her people since foreigners first began the forcible importation of the drug is again evidenced by the announcement in Chinese papers recently to hand that the Shanghai Opium Combine will be granted no extension of time to dispose of their stock. On March 31 of next year their traffic must stop; and when the year ends, the contract made with England some ten years ago will also expire. China will be practically opium free.

Much has been accomplished during the past ten years by organized effort in weaning the people away from the drug. Propaganda and preaching, huge bonfires with fitting ceremonies, local restriction have all done their part in weakening the hold of the habit on the people. Five years ago, as Governor of Hupeh, Li Yuan-hung, now president of China, was active in the destruction of all opium in that province; and the opium fighters are now finding him ready to coöperate with them in seeing the work through.

Anticipating the end of the opium connection with Great Britain next winter, the Chinese government recently communicated with the British minister at Peking requesting that a British envoy be deputed to China to head an investigation into the work and results of the opium suppression campaign in China. At the same time, circulars were sent to all the provinces preparing them for the impending complete extirpation of the opium traffic as follows: (1) All the opium plantations in the land shall be wiped out during a period of three months, from September to November of this year; (2) the trade in opium shall be entirely stopped in a period of four months, from December of this year to March of the next year; and (3) the smoking of opium shall be entirely done away with in a period of three months, from March to June of next year. Bonfires have been frequent since these orders went into effect, the Chihli Opium Prohibition Bureau at Kalgan making perhaps one of the most spectacular affairs. A large quantity of opium was gathered,

together with all the opium-smoking instruments the officials could lay their hands on, invitations were issued, and a delegate from the National Opium Prohibition Union was requested to come as a witness. The acting president, Mr. An Ming, responded, and the ceremony proceeded in due and thorough order, lasting from eight in the morning to one in the afternoon, with the civil governor of Chihli, the military governor of Kalgan, the police authorities, and citizens from all neighboring sections an enthusiastic audience. This is typical of scenes being enacted in many parts of China.

The Shanghai Opium Combine is the only legal surviving distributor of opium, having secured a license to carry on their traffic until March 31, 1917, in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kiangsu and Kiangsi. To their bribe of \$16,000,000 for the privilege of an extension, to their threat of withholding their extra duty of \$1750 per case, the Chinese government has lent a deaf ear. The opium traffic must go, and as quickly as possible. The threat of the Combine to stop the payment of the additional duty, even if it is carried out—which is unlikely—would only mean a loss to the government of something like \$5,000,000. According to trustworthy information, the Combine can sell between now and the 31st of March, 1917, three thousand cases at a valuation of \$5,000 per case, which would give the government a revenue of \$5,000,000 a small sacrifice where the physical and moral welfare of the country are at stake. And President Li and his cabinet have lost no time in declaring that there shall be no compromise.



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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

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## STRIKING EVENTS OF THE FAR EAST

*By Gilbert Reid, D.D., Director-in-Chief of the International  
Institute of China*

### I. THE NEW RÉGIME IN CHINA

The death of the late president, Yuan Shih-kai, after he had formally abandoned the movement for a monarchy, but before he had yielded to the demand of many of the people that he resign from the presidency, has been succeeded by many serious problems of state and also by an increasing spirit of confidence and hopefulness. The premier, General Tuan Chi-jui, had been an old friend of the deceased president, but had refused to join the monarchical movement, even with Yuan Shih-kai as emperor. He thus served as a most fitting medium between the *régime* of Yuan and the new Republican *régime*. He had become premier under Yuan the last few weeks, and was practically the chief in the few days of transition. Being a military man, he was able to hold in check any mutiny of the troops. Being opposed to the monarchical movement, he commanded the respect of the faction which wanted a republic. Being one of the older officials, having held office even under the Manchus, he commanded the respect of the more conservative element in the country. The preservation of order in the capital rested on Premier Tuan Chi-jui.

Through the personal influence of the premier, united with that of the former premier, Hsü Shih-chang, the vice-president, Li Yuan-hung, was induced to accept the duties of president, in accordance with all the forms of constitution. He had held out to the end against the monarchical

movement, even to the danger of his life. He had also said that he was no longer vice-president since Yuan Shih-kai had allowed himself to be declared emperor. This view was of no importance, seeing that all parties in the country had for several months affirmed loyal allegiance to him, should he become the president. Knowing the popular wish, General Li Yuan-hung allowed himself to be declared president. Here, then, was the second unifying factor.

The president favored the provisional constitution, not yet fully ratified when the parliament was dissolved in 1913. He was willing to make this the law on which to begin anew. He also favored the reassembling of the old parliament. Premier Tuan at first was in favor of the new revised constitution, ratified by the National Council in 1914, thus making no break in the law of the land. He soon found that this view was not popular, and so, for the sake of peace, he fell in with the wishes of President Li. A mandate was issued reverting to the provisional constitution, and calling upon all members of the two houses of parliament to reassemble in Peking. This was done in the summer. Here, then, was another unifying factor, China had a parliament and a constitution from which to make a start.

During these few months the revolt in the provinces has come to an end. Insignificant friction has now and then occurred, first between the premier and the president as to their respective powers, between the cabinet and parliament as to the ones to become cabinet ministers, and between the premier and one of his cabinet ministers. It may be that a new cabinet will be formed. It is still clear, and a matter of gratitude, that the president has succeeded in being such a unifying factor between all elements in the government. The premier has not succeeded so well, but the services he has rendered the last few months, since the demise of President Yuan, deserve the appreciation of his countrymen. Parliament, also, has done much better than before. The provincial authorities are working hard in public interests.

The habit has prevailed through our generation to look

through blue glasses on everything Chinese. There have been more pessimists than optimists in China, both among Chinese and foreigners. Melancholia has banished hopefulness. One's thought dwells on imperfections, and overlooks that which is good and excellent, and of good report. One talks of coming dangers, and neglects the present duty. One blames another, and ceases to do anything one's self. The dreams are of earthquakes, epidemics, murder and devastation; there are no visions of delectable mountains, calm waters, or gentle zephyrs. Everything is "going to the dogs;" there are no doves of peace returning to our windows.

All this is a bad habit. It hampers alacrity in good deeds. True reform is deadened. There is no news for a big struggle. There is no upward look to the Father of Lights. Goodness naturally, under such circumstances, is left to stagnate.

Even on the restoration of the republic, with a man like President Li Yuan-hung on the bridge of the ship of state, the old pessimism dominates the average student of Chinese politics. "Are things any better?" and before you have a chance to reply, the questioner answers for himself: "There is no chance for China." We only wonder what all these critics, grumblers, snarlers, dyspeptics, really want. Before, they were complaining of Yuan Shih-kai; now they get no comfort in Li Yuan-hung. Before, they lamented the plot of the monarchists: today they fear for the republic, even in its second trial. There are some people, foreigners as well as Chinese, who seem never to be satisfied, never to be hopeful, never to be truly prayerful, concerning anything Chinese.

If after all China is to be doomed, she will be doomed by the excess of methods of force applied by one or more outside nations. Should this happen, the outlook for the earth is bad. Humanity as grouped in nations, with "bounds of habitation," will not come naturally, if it comes at all. Force, militarism in its worst phases, will rule, and not righteousness and reason. Is this to be the outcome of the cataclysm in Europe? Are the neutral nations to learn nothing good from this war? Will those

at war be ever sick of war, or will they have an incurable appetite for more and more of blood?

We personally place ourselves on the side of hope. We will not despair of China until she actually breathes her last.

## II. AMERICA'S LOANS TO CHINA

China has been seeking loans from abroad for one of two purposes, administrative or industrial. As to the former I have always urged the Chinese to be on their guard, lest one or more foreign powers use such loans for political purposes. I have urged the Chinese to meet their own administrative expense. Should a small loan be made from a friendly nation like the United States there could be no objection, so far as China is concerned. It is, however, to be expected that other nationals will scoff at the idea that only a loan from American bankers for administrative purposes is safe for China. Should the Chinese government find it too difficult to resist the ridicule of other great powers for showing confidence in the United States, then we revert to our other counsel, namely, take no loan from any foreign country for administrative purposes.

China is now concerned with the proposition, and contract, too, of a loan or loans from Americans for industrial purposes. One of those loans, more a matter of charity than of speculation, and favored by the American Red Cross Society, is to be used for the conservation of the Huai Ho, and the opening of the Grand Canal from where boats now pass in North Kiangsu to the Wei River in North Shantung. Another loan is for building new lines of railway.

It now appears that the Entente Powers, notwithstanding help rendered them in time of war, are objecting to these loans. The objections, moreover, are made to the Chinese government and not to the Government at Washington, China is more subject to pressure, warnings, and threats, than is the United States. To attack at the place of "least resistance" is good tactics. The American government, however, should not leave the Chinese government to fight this battle of concessions all alone. The American govern-

ment, under direction of President Wilson, may object to guaranteeing American bankers in a loan to China, but they cannot stand aside, when other governments diplomatically interfere in a business transaction between American bankers and the Chinese government.

One rumor has been set afloat by interested parties that a portion of the railway loan was to be set apart for administrative purposes. This was the way a portion of the France-Belgian loan for building the line from Haichow to Lanchow was diverted. It is authoritatively announced that this rumor is false.

The *Peking Gazette* in support of "a pure piece of contracting work" gives this information: "We are happy to say that in this view not only does England concur, but also the French and Russian governments." We on our part would be happy to know that these governments were presenting no opposition to such "a pure piece of contracting work," but other information leads us to mistrust any friendly profession to Americans made by these three or all of the Entente Powers.

It might be supposed that in return for favors received from Americans, in carrying on war, through guidance of American bankers, the Entente Powers, inclusive of Japan, would reciprocate by helping Americans, under guidance of the same American bankers, to make a few investments in China. Whether profitable or not to American investors, they cannot but prove profitable to China.

Some weeks ago the Japanese government entered protest to the proposed salvation of the old Grand Canal through American skill and generosity, merely because all money needed for industrial works in Shantung must first be sought at the hands of Germany. We only notice that Japan takes it for granted that all privileges promised to Germany must now, before the terms for terminating the war are agreed upon, be taken over by Japan. The *North China Daily News* is right this once, as well as very kind, in thinking that for such a charitable undertaking Japan should not hinder America.

With reference to the railway loan to China from Ameri-

can financiers, the *Eastern News Agency* informs us authoritatively that "the Japanese government has demanded explanations from the government." The implication is that at least during the period of the war all matters affecting the Entente Powers, particularly Russia and England, are placed under the watchful care of Japan for safe protection. If the United States had by this time actually joined the Entente, as China is asked to do, there would be smooth working in all these matters of free competition, but seeing that the United States, as we hope also China, has decided to remain neutral, some difference must be expressed in concessions made by China to any Entente Power and those to a neutral country like the United States. For this reason, but for no other, Japan is in duty bound to "demand explanation." Of course it is much easier to demand it of China.

Russia also sends in a protest, according to the *Eastern News Agency*. The Chinese press is also full of particulars as to this sudden opposition. The line proposed from Fengchen to Lanchow, running along the border of Inner Mongolia, is regarded by Russia as against a previous agreement between China and Russia. The agreement being secret is not binding. Furthermore, Russia has no prior rights in all North China, as well as in North Manchuria and Outer Mongolia. The *North China Daily News* hopes that as Americans are supplying at good rates ammunition to Russia, and as Russian finances are rather bad, Russia will not be too hard on either America or China over this portion of the railway concessions. The surest way to bring this about is for China and the United States to make treaties of alliance with Russia for "Preserving the peace of the Far East," and also openly, and free from all cant, become another ally to the Entente Powers.

France also objects. In this objection Belgium joins. The financiers of these two countries have already a railway concession for building a line from Lanchow to Haining in South Kiangsu. As it is not likely that this line can be built with French and Belgian capital within our genera-

tion, they might allow the Americans to go ahead on another line. The two lines, moreover, are not competitive, such as the lines from Hankow to Peking and from Nanking to Peking.

"Great Britain," so says the Japanese News Agency, "has also protested that the Hangchow-Wenchow line in Chekiang, and Hengchow-Nanning line in Hunan and Kuangsi infringe the rights of the British syndicates." Japan, being an old ally of England, ought to know what England is doing or is saying as to affairs Chinese. Surely, if Russia and Japan may be advised to be gentle to American financiers, England may be thus counselled. How far the line from Shanghai to Hangchow and thence to Ningpo is an English concession, we do not know. Originally the line was a Chinese business proposition. Anyway, new lines are not necessarily the sole right of England, merely because old lines are their right.

Probably Japan is objecting, too, for in the Twenty-one Demands there was a grand move to get railway and mining rights in Central China, thus making very solid the alliance of Great Britain and Japan.

"Thus," sums up the *Eastern News Agency*, "there are many complications in connection with the American loan." The complications are not as between America and China, but between America and her much trusted friends, Japan, Russia, France, Belgium, and "mother England."

As an American, I sincerely hope that this time American financiers will not only make a good start in helping the development of China, but will, with "the perseverance of the saints," hold on to a successful and creditable termination. The American financiers should with ease find the money, and the American government should with alacrity defend American rights against all outsiders, be they the Entente Powers or the Central Powers. In this case neither China nor the United States is being bothered by much protestation from Germany or Austria-Hungary.



## III. JAPAN'S CLASH WITH CHINA

One transparent, but calamitous characteristic of the Chinese, in these late years more than in the former days of conservatism, is the quick way they get excited and enter protests over political matters, and then the quick way they let these matters drop. Some months ago, the government, the parliament, the press, the people, were deeply and rightly stirred by the aggravating conduct of the Japanese at Chengchiatun, followed by certain outrageous demands. Before any settlement was reached, the question of a Japanese loan to China succeeded in diverting attention to new Japanese mining privileges in Hunan and Nahui, or to a Japanese monopoly in the purchase of copper cash in North China. The employment of a Japanese general as military adviser also diverted attention. Chengchiatun has been forgotten, just as the nature and outcome of the Twenty-one Demands of 1915 have been forgotten. Just indignation in both cases was only for a moment. China's effort to resist the mighty power of Japan was of the nature of a spasm.

It is well to be reminded that the Chengchiatun case, like Group V of the series of demands, is still here. The Japanese minister is still knocking at the door, though no one hears the knock, or speaks about it, save the foreign office in Peking.

The Chengchiatun case can be easily, amicably, and justly settled, if the Japanese government will conform to the spirit of the demands accepted through pressure of an ultimatum, or to the subsequent treaties and exchange of notes defining Japan's new powers and rights on Chinese territory. China should hold Japan to the law, as it was forcibly worked out in 1915.

According to this new law, "certain suitable places" were to be opened in Eastern Inner Mongolia "in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners." This is a very different proposition from the assumption of Japan, that she can of her own initiative despatch a detachment of *Japanese soldiers* from the Manchurian Rail-

way zone, where they act as guard to the railway, to some town in Eastern Inner Mongolia. There is no law in support of such *military intrusion*. Still less has Japan, as one of the belligerents and not a neutral, any right to place her soldiers in any part of Chinese territory, save in the Railway zone or in Peking as Legation guard. A Japanese paper, the *Jiji* correctly says: "The Japanese railway guards are in Manchuria to guard the railways and the railway zone and for no other purpose."

This being the case, the burden for a clash between the troops of the two countries, away off at Chengchiatun, as well as at a number of other places outside the railway zone, rests not on China but on Japan.

It is also clear that Japan has no right to pre-judge as to who is the guilty party, Japanese soldiers or Chinese soldiers. There must first be an investigation, and, to give satisfaction to both sides, a joint investigation. Japan, however, renders a decision and affixes the guilt, before and without any such investigation. The new treaties fail to give Japan the power to render judgment on criminal cases in Eastern Inner Mongolia. There are provided mixed courts in South Manchuria, but Mongolia is treated as other parts of the interior of China. China has not yet handed over authority to any outside power.

There is thus no need for China to "apologize and pay compensation." The one to do so is Japan.

Making use of a prejudgment, of a snap judgment, Japan demands that she be allowed to station her police in the towns of both Mongolia and Manchuria and that Japanese military advisers be also employed. This is the echo of Group V. This is a new attempt to get what Japan failed to get in 1915. This is a sly move to go beyond the law as then defined. The settlement then reached reads: "Hereafter, if foreign advisers or instructors on political, financial, military, or police matters are to be employed in South Manchuria, Japanese may be employed first." We note, then (a) that as to the police there is only to be *advisor or instructor* on police matters, no Japanese police stationed in Chinese towns; (b) that any and all kinds of

advisors and instructors are for *South Manchuria*, not for Eastern Inner Mongolia; and (c) that if such are to be employed, Japanese are to have *first chance*, not that China is compelled to employ them, whether she wants to or not. Let Japan abide by her own treaty, forced upon China, rather than now exact more than the law prescribes.

A Japanese paper also reports that Japanese instructors shall be employed in Chinese military schools. This is playing the old game, after the game has closed. Apparently this reference is to the whole of China. Let us read again the clear and reasonable words of the Chinese government spoken through Mr. Lu Cheng Hsiang after the ultimatum of Japan in 1915:

In respect to the demand for the appointment of influential Japanese to be advisors and instructors in political, financial and military affairs, the policy of the Chinese government in regard to the appointment of advisors has been similar to that which has presumably guided the Japanese government in like circumstances, namely the selection of the best qualified men irrespective of their nationality. As an indication of this desire to avail itself of the services of eminent Japanese, one of the earliest appointments made to an advisorship was that of Dr. Ariga, while later on Dr. Hirai and Mr. Takii were appointed to the ministry of communications.

It was considered that the demand that Japanese should be appointed in the three most important administrative departments, as well as the demand for the joint control of China's police, and the demand for an engagement to purchase a fixed amount of arms and ammunition from Japan or to establish joint arsenals in China, so clearly involved the sovereignty of the republic that the Chinese government was unable even to consider them.

To bring this matter up again, is not the natural outcome of the Chengchiatun case, but of the demand forced on China to negotiate about them later on. The Chengchiatun case should stand by itself.

If Japan could only be persuaded to satisfy herself with commercial and industrial expansion all over China, and keep in check all political aspirations on Chinese territory or military interference, she would quickly win the confidence of the Chinese nation and confirm friendly and cordial relations.

## IV. JAPAN'S NEW PREMIER AND CHINA

In everything which I have written concerning Japan's animus towards China, I have not been moved by thoughts of America. The relations between America and Japan are one thing, and between China and Japan quite another. Even if Japan should threaten war against America, I see no reason for surmising that Japan wished to wage war against China.

Neither have I been much moved by thoughts of Germany, though here I confess that when I think of Japan, I inevitably think of Germany. As between Japan and Germany, the thought that the former is asked to take the place of Germany in China, in order to relieve England of a lively competitor, has never carried with it a delicious flavor. For German influence in Shantung to be replaced by Japanese influence has a slight appearance of usurpation, effected at a time when Germany's hands were full elsewhere.

My thoughts, and my feelings, too, concerning Japan have been moved by an interest in China, the land of my adoption, if I may so call it.

The equilibrium of the influence of foreign powers in China was upset, when German influence was pushed out, and Japanese influence in one more place was pushed in.

It is just possible that in a persistent criticism of Japan, as of any country, one may go beyond the limits of fairness.

While, possibly, no foreign government, least of all the United States, has any right to complain of Japanese actions in China, anyone whose mind is centered solely on China's interests, as every Chinese should be, is in duty bound to complain very strongly of the way Japan has been acting for two years and more in relation to the rights and security of the people, who are attached to what these two years has been known as the Republic of China.

As between Japan and the United States or Japan and any European power, Japan may be accorded the preference as to special privileges on the Asiatic continent. In allowing her this preference, she cannot by any process of reasoning exclude from these countries the rights of equal op-

portunity which China, and even Japan herself, has under the seal of solemn treaties definitely safeguarded and guaranteed to them as much as to Japan. If the Chinese prefer the friendship of the Japanese to that of all kinds of Westerners, no sound objection can be offered. This is very different from the plot to eliminate any one Western country, whether Germany or the United States, or the whole combine of Western nations. To reach this result, a few treaties would need to be first abrogated.

The new premier of Japan, Count Terauchi, like the former premier, Marquis Okuma, cannot escape a summons before the supreme court of civilization. In this court the defendant is assumed innocent till proved guilty. I am willing to risk the opinion that Count Terauchi is a very kind and considerate man and will demean himself in a way to win the affections of the Chinese and the esteem of all the West. I have perfect right to hold this opinion, just as I have the right, and will take it, to pass a few criticisms, should his conduct and intent prove other than my first opinion, wish and hope.

All men in responsible positions are apt to be deceptive. What one will do under stress of storm cannot be determined by what one has done on a calm sea. "He who is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much," said the great Teacher. I have, however, known of quite a few most worthy characters in ordinary walks of life, but who lost their heads, and disarranged their moral furniture, when placed in the lime light. So, too, I have known a few who seemed to be of no account in the little country town, but who loomed up as heroes and men of genius, when put to the test by a nation's crisis.

The Marquis Okuma was one I looked up to with admiring eyes in past years, when he was in retirement and in the opposition, when he was the sage of Waseda and president of the Japan Peace Society, when he spoke many, many words of philosophic insight and high ethical aim, and when his criticisms of his nation's faults seemed in touch with the character of the international mind. When he became premier, one who played with politics to retain the

majority, and had the opportunity, "such as," in his own language, "might only come once in a thousand years," then it was that he passed through the bewildering shades of metempsychosis. When the war loomed in sight, the great pacifist, philosopher, sage and saint, telegraphed across the Pacific to a Christian periodical in the states, the *Independent*, and through that to all true believers, these words that sounded like a familiar message of love and gentleness: "As premier of Japan, I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other people of anything which they now possess." When the supreme court of civilization had gathered all the facts and listened to every witness, there was no longer the slightest chance of returning a verdict of "Not guilty." The innocent appearance of Marquis Okuma evaporated into thin air. And yet it is just possible that this veteran of many years, returned to the scholastic life of Waseda, will become his old self, a mentor to the conscience, such as it is, of the mighty Mikado's empire.

On the same theory, and a pretty good one it is, Count Terauchi will pleasantly disappoint men's expectations. He now stands forth as the exponent of militarism, not a glib talker of peace. He has been the strong hand to hold down little Korea. He has successfully crushed out all hope of independence among the Korean people. He is the man of the hour, Field Marshall Count Terauchi. Let China tremble as this man of energy and iron takes in hand the politics of Eastern Asia.

As Count Okuma turned out differently from what we all expected, and from what, probably, he himself expected, so by the same reasoning General Count Terauchi will be different from the expectations of such ordinary on-lookers as ourselves.

By the way of New York—for New York bankers were open to all manner of doubts—we are informed what Premier Terauchi's *future* policy is to be. "Japan did not intend," this is the surprising message, "to violate the

sovereignty of China or hamper the equal opportunities of interested nations. A supreme effort would be made to maintain faith with foreign powers, and to fulfill Japanese obligations under the British and Russian alliances."

Let us take him at his word. This man is not the kind to fool people with words of honey. He is strong, unflinching, daring, and determined. If he marks out a course of action, he will follow it to the end, in face of all hindrances, blandishments, and dreams. He is a man of action. He announces his future policy; he will strive for it, and, in so doing, will daringly do the right. This is Count Terauchi of the future.

Should this policy be observed, under the leadership of such a "mighty man of valor," with the whole military party behind him, Japan will not only win her case in the supreme court of civilization, but will forge ahead among all nations as the guardian of the rights of all peoples. Japan's glory will outshine the glorious achievements of a long, unbroken historic record.

This is really Japan's "opportunity of a thousand years." Should Count Terauchi have the sublime audacity to call back all her military guards from Chinese soil, to reverse Marquis Okuma's designs in possessing Port Arthur and Dalny, and magnanimously hand them back to China, as a precedent to England at Weihaiwei, to consent to allow Germany at the end of the war to regain her rights in Shantung, and to make it clear that Japan is in dead earnest to preserve for China *all* of China's territory, then Japan, under such an heroic leader, will find in China a loyal and grateful follower, and will be recognized as the leader of Asia, the protector of the down-trodden along all these shores.

## SOME THOUGHTS ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

*By David S. Spencer, D.D., Nagoya, Japan*

Japan is not America. The average American reader no more understands the political movements of the Japanese than he does their religious life, and for precisely similar reasons. Possibly thirty years residence in Japan may enable one to assist the American reader in understanding the Japanese character and political development.

Back of the surprising material developments, the business successes and failures, the apparently retrograde political movements, and the disappointing cabinet changes of these twentieth century days are still working certain forces which have their root origins in a distant past, and in peculiar conditions. Though space forbids a full discussion of these forces, let us note four of them, and consider their influence upon the present political life of the people:

1. The influence of race origin.
2. The influence of geographic and climatic environment.
3. The influence of feudal institutions.
4. The influence of the institution known as the family.

Other influences there are which still affect the nation's development, and of which an account should be made in a full discussion of the subject; but in the four above mentioned will be found much of interest for the student of political institutions.

Ethnologists and archeologists differ as greatly concerning the race origin of the Japanese people as they do concerning the location of the Garden of Eden. All will however admit that race origin is one of the elements which vitally affect the political development of any people.

Without any attempt to dogmatize upon the subject, it appears most probable that the Japanese race, as known



today, was formed out of at least four contributing race streams; first the Koro-pok-guru, or "Cave-men," possibly aborigines. Secondly, the *Ainu*, short, stout savages, exceedingly hairy, with white skin, high cheek bones, without any written language, and without religion except as nature worship.<sup>1</sup> A few thousand of these *Ainu* still remain in the northern island, but they cannot bear modern civilization any better than do our American Red Men. They are known in ancient Japanese chronicles as the *Yemishi*, and may have reached these islands from Kamschatka or Saghalien. They were followed by a third invasion from the continent, possibly through Korea, landing at Izumo, on the west coast, opposite Korea. These invaders were far above the *Ainu* in civilization, had advanced from the stone to the bronze age, built houses of wood in which to live, were slim and tall as compared with the *Ainu*, had the oval face, oblique eyes, black hair, and were comparatively light skinned. Their warlike qualities were evidently less developed than were those of their successors, and they had a hard time with their *Ainu* neighbors northward.

The fourth racial stream must have come from or through the Malaysian regions, probably via Formosa and the Loo-choo islands, aided by the "Black Tide," and landed in Hyūga, on the southern coast of Kyushu. This people were of short and stout build, with round face, straight eyes, flat nose and large nostrils, had strong fighting qualities, and were aggressive and progressive. They brought with them a grade of civilization still in advance of the Izumo sample, belonged to the Iron Age, made pottery with the wheel rather than by hand, and buried their dead in tombs built of rough stone, or of hewn stones in some cases. They seem to have moved northward along the shores of the Inland Sea, led by a stalwart warrior who became their first ruler, known as Jimmu Tenno, till they surprised the Izumo people by their presence in the section

<sup>1</sup> Longford, *Story of Old Japan*, p. 4. Kawakami, *Political Ideas of Modern Japan*, p. 15. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, Index. Brinkley, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*, Index. Murdock, *A History of Japan*, Vol. 1, Index.

called Yamato, overcame them because of greater military prowess, and these two streams soon became amalgamated. Possibly both strains were of Mongoloid origin, which hastened their union. At any rate these two race streams united, began their conquest of the land northward, met the *Ainu*, who had come as far south as Fujiyama, and had given it its name, and with this sturdy *Ainu* contended for more than a thousand years for supremacy, finally driving him across the Tsugaru straits, into the northern island, Yezo.

Intermarriage between the Izumo and Hyūga humans seems to have been common from the start, and a certain amount of this race-crossing also took place with the *Ainu* branch, as is manifest in the physiognomy of the people of the northland. But some Japanese ethnologists seem to contend that their Izumo ancestors, though unequal in fighting qualities to their southern neighbors, were of stronger mental qualities, and by intermarriage among themselves kept their race blood measurably pure, and have furnished through the centuries the brains which have been the chief reliance of this people's advancement.<sup>2</sup>

That Chinese and Korean immigrants later came to these islands in smaller groups is well known, and must have had corresponding influence in forming the resultant racial amalgamation. At any rate we have here in Japan a most interesting racial mixture, offering to the student of national psychology a peculiarly inviting field. And of the effect of this admixture upon the development of the political life of the Japanese there can be no doubt. The race mixture in Japan is quite similar in some respects to that in Mexico, and might in these valleys have led to results similar to those found in the latter unfortunate country, had not their environment, their insular situation, favored a different outcome. The composition of the American nation furnishes a very different illustration, especially in its earlier and formative years.

<sup>2</sup> Kawakami, *Political Ideas of Modern Japan*, p. 18. Brinkley, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*, Vol. 1, p. 38.

If racial origin affects political development, so does external environment. Located between  $21^{\circ} 45'$  and  $50^{\circ} 56'$  north latitude, corresponding approximately to the southern point of Florida on the south, and the most northern reaches of Maine on the north, these islands furnish a wide variety of climate. It is neither injuriously cold nor hot. Like all insular climates, there is great humidity in the atmosphere, which to a certain extent detracts from the physical powers. But this very insular location has mightily contributed to the nation's development. It has kept outside enemies from reaching them, when the race was too weak to offer strong defense; it gave them a chance to fight out their own battles without interference from without, to cudgel themselves through centuries of strife into a national unity which is unique. In 2000 years no foreign foe has been able to effect a landing upon their shores, God's winds blowing to their destruction the ships of the one enemy who in the thirteenth century attempted it. The value of this national isolation during their formative period is not likely to be estimated too highly.

As the entire Japanese archipelago is the product of volcanic forces, and these forces still remain to some extent active, the race has been cradeled amidst physical horrors. Betimes swept by typhoons, rent by seismic force, inundated by tidal waves, made homeless by enormous fires, the people have come to expect calamity and to endure disappointments and hardships with stoical indifference, so that foreigners have sometimes mistakenly supposed they were lacking the ordinary human feelings. Their ability to meet the most humiliating defeats and the most tragic losses with placid and even smiling countenances helps to an understanding of many of their acts as seen in times of political or social defeat.

A third and most powerful formative force in the Japanese national life was feudalism. The seeds of this feudalism were probably sown as far back as the reign of Sujin, 97-30 B.C. In order to control the people, following a pestilence, which had decimated the population, the emperor appointed four generals to control the four circuits or

sections of the country. "The leaders chosen for this task were all members of the imperial family."<sup>3</sup> "Whole regions were assigned to similar officials whose responsibility was limited to the collection of taxes for the use of the court."<sup>4</sup> Later there came into existence an office known as the *Sei-i-Tai-Shogun* (barbarian subduing great general). To such officers fell the duty of driving northward the stalwart *Ainu* and reducing the country to order, tasks covering a thousand years. At first these offices had to be surrendered when the particular task in question had been accomplished. Later the occupants of such high positions schemed to retain their positions and powers, and they gradually succeeded in doing so.

Another important influence operating in this connection was the establishment of the *Uji*, or families, which became the unit of society in Japan, of which more later.

When heads of these families led military expeditions to disturbed parts of the empire, their successes in tranquilizing the country were afterward followed by their settling down in a conquered section, gathering their followers about them, especially the soldiers who had helped them to win their victories, changing their names with or without the emperor's consent, and thus setting up a clan of *Han*. The members of this *Uji*, *Han* or clan, "were considered to form one united family, bound not only by the ties of interest and safety, but by the fiction that all had a common origin with their chief. They became hereditary soldiers, whose sole trade was fighting, who scorned all other pursuits." As these *Han* grew in numbers and strength, each became more and more a law unto itself, especially so with those situated at a distance from the seat of government, and gradually came to defy adjoining *Han*, and finally, in large measure, the central government itself. In fact the stronger houses, each in its turn, ultimately came to control the nation. Though ever careful to declare that they were conducting governmental affairs at the command and

<sup>3</sup> Brinkley, *A History of Japan*, p. 79, 80, 95, 128. Brinkley, *A History of Japan*, p. 67, 331.

<sup>4</sup> Murdock, *A History of Japan*, Vol. I, Index, "Feudalism."

in the name of the imperial person, they actually set up and pulled down emperors at their own pleasure, often placing upon the throne mere children or infants, and pretending to administer at their command.

As may well be supposed, the imperial power became a mere name, the real power being military, wielded by the heads of successive families as they might, by hook or crook, be able for a time to gain the ascendancy. Of course intrigue of every possible sort became the order of the day. The influences of religion, of clan intermarriage, of wealth, of diplomacy, and much more were called in to aid the ambitious feudal lord in gaining control of the government. This strife between the various feudal lords, located as they were in different sections of the country sometimes contiguous, sometimes widely separated, and with poor traveling facilities, naturally encouraged the retinue of one such lord to be ever on the watch against the retainers of every other lord. Loyalty to the country in a broad sense had no existence. The imperial house became a mere name to the mass of the people. The individual Japanese naturally thought first and always of his feudal lord, who was his protector, his preserver, the source of his daily supplies, and the giver of all he possessed. His property, including his wife, his home, his children, his body, were somehow felt to be the gift of his lord. His supreme loyalty was not to a set of lofty principles, of worthy national ideals, but to a *person*, and that person his feudal lord. Whatever that lord might do or command, was right, not because of its intrinsic moral qualities, but because he did it. Great men were lords while living, gods to be worshipped thereafter. "Their gods were only men of power or renown."<sup>5</sup>

Traveling facilities by land were exceedingly meager and even if the traveler would venture beyond the bounds of his clan, he must carry a passport, as though going to a foreign land. His speech, his manner, would be ever betraying him to the members of another clan, and conditions

<sup>5</sup> Clement, *A Short History of Japan*, p. 7.

such as these tended to make spies of the whole Japanese race, and fill every man with suspicion against every other man. The natural confidence of man in man, which to the Anglo-Saxon seems to possess so great moral, social and political value, was sadly disfigured. Even the representatives of religion, the priesthood, proved under this condition of affairs disloyal to their own teachings, and joined in the race for clan supremacy on one side or the other, and were guilty of every crime in the calendar. The political history of Japan for a thousand years is a story of this sort of feudal strife, of clan intrigue, first one great house, then another being able to gain the ascendancy, and control the imperial house, dominate the capital, and extend its will by force over more or less of the whole nation, culminating in the Tokugawa régime which controlled more effectively than any previous family had done the whole of Japan for a long period, 1603-1868.

From the above all too brief account of the course of Japanese national development, the reader might draw wrong inferences as to the relative force of feudalism and the family in the formation of this people, for in their workings the two institutions are inextricably mixed. The feudal system ultimately developed into a privileged military class, known as the *Samurai*. In China the gentleman was above all else a scholar; in Japan the gentleman was above all else a soldier, a fighting man, whether he could read or not. This privileged or governing class did not, it is estimated, exceed 5 per cent of the population; yet for long years they ruled the country, while the balance of the people were plebeians, and 75 per cent of them farmers. Nor must it be inferred that there were no clan defections, no crimes which resulted in excluding men from their clans, or that this spirit of clan loyalty always held men to worthy deeds. It did not. Men often sought for reasons of supposed betterment to transfer their allegiance from one clan to another. Some, falling into disgrace in the clan to which they belonged, left it, and became *rōnin*, or wandering men, roughs, rowdies, ready to sell themselves to any lord who might be willing to admit

them to his sheltering fold. Such were the leaders of the riots in Tokyo, on the announcement of the Portsmouth treaty. But these men were always comparatively few. The thing to keep in mind is that this feudal system, instead of training men individually to become strong citizens, intelligent members of the body politic, moved by lofty principles, and held by right moral standards, taught men rather to lose their individuality in an over-lord, a paternal, controlling force, that did for them everything they needed in return for their unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the chief of the clan.

We have already mentioned the institution called the family, and hinted at its bearing upon the formation of the nation, but we must now go still farther in this direction, to discover how the family was managed in such a way as to tend to produce the same qualities or characteristics in the Japanese citizen which the feudal régime produced.

In earliest Japanese history the inhabitants of Japan were divided into three classes, as follows:

*Shimbetsu*: *Kami*, or divine class.

*Kwōbetsu*: Imperial class, all emperors from Jimmu Tenno downward. The premier class. The heads of its families possess special rights.

*Bambetsu*: Aborigines and immigrants from foreign lands.

The *Shimbetsu* was again divided into sub-classes, as follows:

1. *Tenjin*, descendants of the primeval deities, prior to the Sun goddess.

2. *Tenson*, or descendants of the Sun goddess to Jimmu's father.

3. *Chigi*, or chiefs found in Izumo by the messengers of the Sun goddess, or in Yamato by Jimmu.

In addition to the above great divisions, the entire nation was divided into *Uji*, as mentioned above. An *Uji* founded by one of the *Tenson* took precedence of all others, the next in rank being one with an imperial prince for an ancestor; then came families founded by the *Tenjin* or *Chigi*. It is not to be supposed that one of these families consisted simply of the husband and wife, children, servants

and slaves. There were great *uji* and small *uji*, the former being made up of many of the latter. An *uji* comprised all who bore the same family name, and recognized one person as the head of the whole family or house. At first these family names were few; but as the population increased, the family names multiplied. The first family chiefs all sprang from the imperial house, and were related to the reigning sovereign; but subsequent emperors permitted the formation of new families from time to time. Thus the Nakatomi, Soga, Fujiwara, Hōjō, Minamoto, Taira, Takogawa and other great families one after another sprang into being. The heads of these families had court rank, and wielded great influence.

In the *uji*, the law of primogeniture was paramount. A successor to headship must be the eldest son of an eldest son. This family chief ruled the entire *uji*, or family, and controlled all the property. The head of an ordinary *uji* governed all the members of that *uji*, but was under the control of the head of the great *uji*. All matters pertaining to the *uji* were settled by the family council of that *uji*, and nothing was referred to the imperial court or government except in most serious cases. As a rule, all the members of one *uji* belonged to one occupation, and the business was hereditary.<sup>6</sup> All the members of such a family were held responsible for the conduct of each member thereof. If one committed a crime, the others must follow and find him, and bring him to justice. If he failed to pay his debts or taxes, as some did, whole households sometimes absconding to avoid the heavy imposts, the others must pay his taxes till his return, or for a period of years, and must pay his debts. If this meeting of moral and financial delinquencies proved a sort of protection to society, on the one hand, is it not clear that it just as surely, on the other, tended to excuse the delinquent and encourage him to risk the frowns of the members of his family in order that he might satisfy his own lusts and love of ease? The theory of the family was that the individual member sur-

<sup>6</sup> Brinkley, *History of Japan*, pp. 92-93 and Index. Longford, *The Story of Old Japan*, pp. 84-85.



renders his personal wishes, and even rights, for the common good. His labor must accrue to the benefit of the family; his education is to promote the interests of the family; his marriage must be made for the continuance and convenience of the family; his wife is chosen for him, not to suit his personal wishes, but those of the family. Carried to its logical conclusion, this family management tended to create a citizen dependent upon those above him for his opinions, his moral standards and his initiative. If he were a strong character, enterprising, progressive, the family regulations tended to restrain his natural aptitudes to the limits of supposed family interests. If he were easy-going, inclined to defer to others, his tendency to shirk was encouraged.

It is worth while to note how each family became, in all family matters, a law unto itself; how it relieved each individual in large measure from personal responsibility; and yet how, at the same time, it encouraged each and all to look for suggestion and direction to those around and above. Loyalty is again centered in a *person*, but that person is a man. All initiative for the family would naturally come down from its chief, or from the great *uji*; all orders for the citizen emanating from the government were handed by the proper officer to the head of a great *uji*, and by him passed down to the head of the small *uji*, and so to the individual. Demands for military service were made to the house; taxes were levied upon the house; responsibility for religious observances fell upon the head of the house, and individual religious obligation, duty, service would concern the citizen only as it came from the head of the house. It will, therefore, be readily understood how natural human ties as well as allegiance to high moral principles often seemed easily to give way to the demands of loyalty, as expressed in the feudal order of the day. Captain Brinkley has put this matter so well that I quote him at some length:

The ties of consanguinity snapped easily in medieval Japan when subjected to the strain of ambition or of loyalty. A vassal's duty to his chief outweighed the claims of filial piety, and men

<sup>1</sup> Brinkley, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*, Vol. 212-213.

were frequently confronted by the dilemma of having to choose between two during an era when great houses, whose heads and dependents had long been on terms of close friendship and intermarriage, were driven by the exigencies of the times into opposite camps. On the eve of the fight at Sekigahara, which finally established the Tokugawa sway over the whole of Japan, Sanada Masayuki and his two sons, Nobuyuki and Yukimasa, had to consider whether they would join the Tokugawa chief, Iyeyasu, or enter the camp of his enemies, the Osaka party. The old man declared that his obligation to the Tokugawa bound him to their side; his sons said that they could not forget what the *Taiko* (Hideyoshi) had done for their family, and that they would sacrifice their lives in the Osaka cause. The three men parted in the most friendly manner. It is recorded that Masayuki repaired to the house of his elder son in order to bid a last farewell to his daughter-in-law, and his grandchild. But Nobuyuki's wife would not admit him. "The bond of parent and child is broken," she said, "since each has espoused a different cause. I should be untrue to my husband if I did not exclude from his house an ally of his enemy." The old man expressed profound satisfaction with a reply so true to the dictates of the *bushi-do*. He survived the battle, but his two sons perished. The spirit dictating such acts is well displayed in a letter addressed to the mother of Koda Hikoyemon to her son. The latter with his liege lord, Oda Nobutaka, had espoused the cause of the *Taiko's* enemies, and thus the lives of Hikoyemon's mother and of Nobutaka's mother, who were held hostages in the *Taiko's* hands, became forfeit. The *Taiko* threatened to put the women to death unless their sons returned to his camp, whereupon Hikoyemon's mother wrote to her son: "Fealty to his lord is the first duty of every man in the empire, and it is the law of nature that parents should die before their children. My life is sacrificed to the cause of our lord and the cause of our house. Let no one mourn for me. Do you, true to the way of the warrior, and the path of filial piety, remember that to have a mother is no reason to be unfaithful." This brave lady was crucified.

It therefore comes to about this: The sum total of the influences of both feudalism and the family institution, as exerted upon the individual Japanese, has tended to produce a person, a citizen, differing in essential respects from the average American, Englishman or Frenchman. And when this Japanese citizen, thus trained for centuries, is called upon to bear the responsibilities of citizenship on a modern world, should it be thought strange that he should act differently from what an American, an Englishman or a Frenchman would act under the same circumstances?

His racial, his geographical and climatic, his political and his family and social training have had an immense influence upon his character, and have differed very greatly from that which the American citizen gets. That the nation's past did not properly fit men to meet the nation's needs in the modern world would seem to have been sufficiently demonstrated by the complete breakdown of feudalism in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was not Commodore Perry who ushered in the new Japan. He was simply the providential man to aid the smooth working of the evolution long delayed and sure to come.

Why this Japanese citizen has deported himself during the Meiji era as he has, must occupy our attention in a second article.

## BUSINESS AFTER THE WAR<sup>1</sup>

*By Hon. George E. Roberts, Assistant to the President, The  
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of the United States Mint*

What are the economic effects of the war the world over, and particularly in the United States? We recognize, to begin with, that the war is in a class by itself. There are no precedents that signify much. We hesitate to even lay down fundamental principles for fear that under the extraordinary conditions they may not apply. If anybody had told us at the beginning of the war that it would be going on at the end of two years, at a cost of nearly \$100,000,000 per day, few would have believed him. But we have learned that the conduct of war is largely a matter of industrial organization. If a people can restrict their wants, or curtail their consumption of some things, and organize the women and children and men above military age to supply the necessities, and can produce all they require at home, they can keep the fighting men on the firing line as long as they last. We see that the war is not likely to come to an end from mere financial exhaustion; that "finance" is only a name for a process in the organization of industry. Productive industry is the substantial thing.

We see that the amazing figures of expenditures and indebtedness are not as significant or appalling as at first they seemed. People have said that all the gains and accumulations of the past were being swept away, but this is not true even in the warring countries.

The wealth of the world is in the land, the forests, mines, water powers and other resources of nature, and in the

<sup>1</sup> An address before the Michigan Bankers' Association, Flint, Michigan, June 13, 1916.

plant of buildings, machinery, railways, and equipment of every kind that has been gradually acquired for working those resources, and for converting them into the commodities of trade and for distributing them in the exchanges. Besides these the gains of the past are in the stock of knowledge, the progress that has been made in the arts and industries, in command over the resources of nature, and in the organization that has been developed for carrying on the work of the world. In short, the wealth of the world is in its productive properties, and the gains of the past are not so much in what has been accumulated as in the knowledge of how to produce it.

The general position which society has attained in the arts and industries will not be lost, and the amount of productive property destroyed, as compared with the total amount of property, is comparatively small, even in the countries at war. The two leading industrial countries, Great Britain and Germany, are practically untouched. The class of productive property that is suffering most is shipping, and the world is building ships almost as fast as they are sunk.

The greater part of this enormous destruction is of equipment and supplies of current production. It is a consumption of powder, shells, guns, motor cars, gasoline, food, clothing, shoes and stores of many kinds, for the armies and ships. And all over the world, in neutral as well as in the warring countries, we see tremendous activity in the production of these things. Thousands of factories are converted from other purposes, and vast new works are constructed, for the making of war supplies. Everywhere men are working long hours, women literally by millions are entering shops and offices, new machinery and new methods are invented and installed, and industry is speeded to the limit to meet the emergency. Furthermore, this demand and scarcity causes a rise of prices throughout the world, and a restraint upon trade and consumption and normal enterprise, which helps to supply the war's requirements. It is these things, which all the world is working night and day to produce, that are being destroyed, while

the productive capacity in many lines is being actually enlarged.

But it will be said that the most important factor in production is the able-bodied and skillful workman, and that millions of these are being killed or disabled. This is true, and it is the most depressing factor in the situation, but there is a possible offset even to this, in the effect of the war upon the men and women who survive. The efficiency of a people, the productive capacity of a given population is not always the same. The most profound and important truth in the world is the fact that that capacity is subject to unlimited development. Lloyd George has said that the improvements in industry, and the more effective control of the liquor traffic, resulting from the war, will compensate for all the economic losses. It is a remarkable fact that British exports for the month of May just closed were greater than for the same month of 1914, and when we consider the enormous interference due to the war we are bound to conclude that industry is now being much more efficiently conducted. No one can calculate the full effects of the stimulus and discipline of war upon the population. The greatest forces in the world are the invisible ones; a single invention may revolutionize an industry, and these peoples may be more alert, more enterprising, more resourceful and capable than ever before.

But what about the debt? Is it true that these countries are drawing on the future, that they are expending capital before it is created, and heaping burdens upon generations yet unborn? There is very great exaggeration about that. If you say that they are wasting capital which should be passed down to the future, and that the progress of the world is retarded, I will agree, but that is a different thing.

In the first place, there is no such thing as expending capital before it is created. Capital must exist in tangible form. There are no economic losses except in tangible things. The war, as we have seen, is carried on with tangible things—with equipment and supplies—and these must be furnished now, not after the war is over. The armies are

not being fed this year from next year's crops, nor are they using supplies of next year's make. Whatever else may be obscure about the incidence and effects of this body of indebtedness, one thing is clear, viz.: that all of the production of the future will belong to the future, and none of it will belong to the past. A popular speaker is quoted as saying that 500 years after the war is over, the people will be toiling to pay the interest on these loans. That may be so, but if it is, it is certain that the payments will be made to people then living, and that their use of the capital will react upon the entire community.

In discussing the indebtedness the fact is commonly overlooked that the payment of indebtedness does not extinguish the capital transferred or involve an economic loss. If we were to conceive of these payments as required to be somehow made to the inhabitants of another planet, with whom no other intercourse was possible, or of the products of the country to the value of these payments as regularly heaped up and burned, then we would have the idea that is generally accepted as to the burden of this indebtedness. But nothing of this kind will occur. The capital raised by taxation will flow from the public into the treasury, and from the treasury back to the people, practically undiminished.

This proposition should not be confused with the fallacious excuse that is often given for wasteful extravagance, to wit: that it gives employment to wage-people and puts money in circulation. In the latter case the expenditure represents an economic loss because the wage-earners are not productively employed. The war indebtedness also represents an economic loss, but the loss occurred when the proceeds of the loans were expended, and does not occur again when the loans are paid off.

The war loans, for the most part, are a capitalization of labor and production during the war, and if they are held at home, and paid off by savings, the countries will be richer than before the war.

If every tax-payer held a corresponding proportion of the bonds, his income and outgo on account of the debt would

cancel. The problem of the indebtedness is that of levying taxation in such a manner that it will not fall unfairly upon any portion of the community, but that all will be speedily reimbursed by the return flow. The portion of the public which participates in the loans will receive the return flow direct, but if all payments upon the loans are new savings, which did not exist before the war, then the investment of this capital in productive industries is bound to react favorably upon all classes, so that a moderate degree of taxation can be paid by all without being worse off than before the war. The taxation will amount to enforced saving for the capital fund, and if wisely applied will help the country to recover from the failure to make normal progress during the war.

If this view is correct, recovery from the war will be more rapid than has been anticipated, and there is no reason why, after order and confidence are restored, enterprise and industry should not go on in these countries about as before.

The critical period will be at the end of the war, when the armies are dissolved and millions of men must find their places in civil life, and while there is still bewilderment and uncertainty as to what the state of industry and trade will be. The problem will be to integrate the industries, not only at home but throughout the world, and get them on a mutually-supporting basis, for every man who has work will be able to buy the products of others.

Unfortunately the animosities of the war will prevent an immediate resumption of many former trade relationships, and legislation may increase the confusion and intensify the struggle for markets. This confusion and uncertainty, and the apprehension which it engenders, creates the real danger of industrial prostration after the war, rather than lack of capital or buying power. The buying power of every country is in its own powers of production.

And now what about the effect of the war in the United States? When it began there were two opinions about it. One was optimistic, it held that the war opened a great new opportunity for the United States to increase its pro-



duction, its trade, its wealth and its importance. The other view was more conservative, more involved in its reasoning, but seemingly broader and more complete. It rejected offhand the idea that we would benefit from the war, on the ground that the interests we have in common with Europe are so important that a calamity to Europe could not possibly yield benefits to us.

This idea of a genuine community of interests throughout the world, between all nations and all classes, is a great cultural and civilizing idea, and that alone proves it to be fundamentally sound. I believe in it and preach it; it can be overwhelmingly demonstrated in argument. And yet the war brought prosperity to the United States.

The explanation does not disprove the principle of an essential harmony of interests. Business in the United States was not in normal condition before the war. Industry was dragging, machinery was idle, and labor was unemployed. The war created an acute world scarcity of labor and products, and we have gained by the complete employment of our machinery and our people, and by the fact that we have a huge trade balance which includes extraordinary profits.

Even here the principle of a harmony of interests is sustained in a degree, despite the confusion of a world war, for this prosperity results from supplying other people with things they want and from mitigating a world scarcity. But it remains to be said that the account is not yet fully made up. We are comparing our earnings now with our earnings in a time of unnatural depression, and without allowance either for the reaction that may come from this abnormal stimulus or for the indirect losses which will be our share of the world waste of capital.

The idea of a community of interests is the moral basis of society. No relations between nations or classes, or individuals, are justified unless based upon this principle of mutual helpfulness. The object of economic society is to increase the supply for all members of the community of the necessities, comforts and refinements of life, and this is accomplished by improving the methods of production

and exchange. Everybody within the circle of the exchanges gains by every step which makes industry more productive and adds to the sum total of these goods to be distributed.

We know as bankers that the wealth of the world, wherever it is located and by whomsoever it may be owned, is to a great extent a common fund. When we talk of banking funds we know that there is a reservoir in New York, another in London, and there are others in Paris and Berlin, and others elsewhere, but in time of peace they are all connected. You cannot draw down the supply in one without affecting the supply in all. You cannot burn up or destroy wealth anywhere that the whole world does not suffer loss.

The boll weevil affects the price of clothing, and an early frost in the corn and wheat belt affects the price of food, all round the world. And so, because millions of men are withdrawn from industry, and because of the war demands, the cost of living is higher for every family in the United States. Everybody who hasn't had his own income increased is paying a part of the cost of the war.

On the surface of the situation it has looked as though the United States had an extraordinary opportunity to introduce its manufactures in neutral markets, while Great Britain and Germany were otherwise engaged, but the same conditions which create the opportunity throw enormous obstacles in the way. The scarcity of shipping, the rise of freight charges, the pressure of war orders, the revival of the home demand, the scarcity of materials, the shortage of labor, all combine to interfere with the growth of new trade. The trade of the world is interdependent, and must be kept in balance. You cannot suddenly shift a large body of it without making a multitude of shifts.

If we have learned anything in the last year it is that you cannot have a permanently one-sided trade. You soon reach the point where you have to lend money to your customer in order that he may continue his purchases, and of course there is a limit to that. If it were possible for us to take over all the business in South America that

Great Britain and Germany have had, we would have to take the South American products that Great Britain and Germany have taken, and if we were going to do all of this business permanently, and Great Britain and Germany were to do that much less permanently, then there would have to be a shift of population from those countries to the United States. These world relations are the result of growth and gradual readjustments rather than of sudden changes. We will gain trade as other peoples gain in purchasing power, rather than by supplanting rivals.

One of the grievances urged against the labor organizations is that they deliberately restrict the output, acting upon the theory that there is only a limited amount of work to be done, and that it is good policy for them to make it go as far and pay as much in wages as possible. It is a mistaken theory, but I think the idea that this country will do better in world trade with Great Britain and Germany out of it is based upon the same error. It assumes that there is only a limited amount of work to be done in the world, and only a limited amount of trade to be had, whereas there is no limit to the amount of work to be done or the amount of trade that may be had, or the wealth that may be created from the resources of nature. The greater the production of every country, the greater its purchases will be, and the greater the trade of the world will be.

Great Britain and Germany have built up most of the trade they have had in South America by advancing capital for the development of those countries. They have literally created out of the dormant resources of those countries the wealth from which they have received their pay. They have invested about \$4,000,000,000 in South America in the last twenty-five or thirty years, and sent most of it out in the form of materials and machinery. No wonder they have had the bulk of the trade, and if we are to rival them there, we must do the same work, we must help in the development of those countries.

But here again the difficulties of the present situation appear. We are buying back our own securities from Great

Britain and Europe on an enormous scale, and must continue to do so. We are granting credits to other countries to assist their purchases here. Furthermore, we have no spare capacity at the present time for the equipment of new enterprises, and, finally, war prices are prohibitive upon new enterprises.

When the war is over, we will be stronger in some respects, and weaker in others, than before. We will be richer, owe less abroad, have greater productive capacity, and have an introduction in foreign trade. All that would strengthen our position in world affairs if other things remained the same. But conditions have not remained the same, and here we have another striking illustration of the law of compensation.

There is a natural balance or equilibrium in affairs which in the long run is bound to be maintained because it is fixed in the very constitution of things; and when that balance is disturbed all the natural forces work for its restoration. The world of affairs has a way of righting itself, something like the facility of a cat for lighting on its feet. And it is a good thing that this is so, for life wouldn't be worth living if the confused councils of statesmen could put everything permanently out of joint.

The enormous demand upon our industries, and for labor and materials, together with the influx of capital, has placed us upon a higher basis of costs than we were before. Our people are pleased and sanguine over the influx of gold, and for the time being, this gold is an element of strength. Curiously enough, as long as we do not use it, it is an element of strength, but as it comes into use, we see that it becomes an element of danger. Capital can do nothing without labor, and we are not getting more labor. Capital cannot dig a ditch, or lay a wall, or turn a furrow, without labor; they must be used together, a blessed necessity that, again, is fixed in the constitution of things. When all the forces of production are in full action, you cannot make a country richer by pouring gold into it. You reach the point then where every addition means dilution, and you run the risk of demoralizing the entire economic situation.

In all advanced countries, in normal times, capital increases faster than population, and this is a truth which does not receive the attention it deserves. For with capital increasing faster than population, the demand for labor increases faster than the supply, with the result that there is an inevitably increasing wage rate. This, I say, is the law of normal progress, and where it is operating in all countries at the same time, and its effects are gradual and continuous, there is no disruption of relations, and the effect is beneficent. But when a great amount of capital is suddenly forced into one country, without any corresponding increase of labor, the whole situation is thrown out of balance. There is danger then that with an increased amount of capital bidding for a limited amount of labor and materials, wages and prices will be forced upwards, until the level of costs upon which business is done in that country will be raised high above what it is in other countries, with the result that when normal conditions are restored, exports will be cut off, imports will increase, the balance of trade will turn over, and the newly acquired gold will flow out, leaving an inflated fabric of wages, prices and indebtedness without an adequate foundation.

This is the danger in which we stand today; the danger that, stimulated as we are by abnormal conditions, with an enormous demand upon us for goods at almost any price, we shall become adjusted to these temporary conditions and shall be unable to readjust ourselves to normal conditions without a severe experience.

Fortunately a spirit of conservatism has pervaded the country. There has been no undue inflation of credit. It is true that bank loans are high above what they were a year ago, but when we consider the enormous expansion of business within the year, the amount of our securities repurchased from Europe, and the loans made to facilitate our exports, the increase in loans is well accounted for.

The country, although its industries are running at full tilt, is not over-building or over-expanding. The industrial management has been such as to conserve as far as practicable the benefits arising from this extraordinary period,

for the good of the industries in the future. Indebtedness has been paid, reserves have been created, capacity has been enlarged, equipment and methods have been improved with a view to all possible economies in the future. All this fortifies the industries and strengthens the whole situation for the trials that are to come. The policy is better in the long run for both shareholders and wage-earners than would be the payment of dividends or wages which cannot be maintained.

Commodity prices are high, due to world conditions, but property values are not generally inflated. The country is plainly doing business in the consciousness that present conditions are temporary, and it has been now under this restraint so long that there is a strong likelihood that it will follow the policy of caution until the transition to peace conditions is made. Certainly this is the policy for bankers to advise.

If this course is pursued there will be no danger of anything like a financial panic, and the change from war conditions to peace conditions will be made with the minimum of disturbance. There are good reasons for believing that a large amount of domestic work is being held back now on account of high construction costs, and that this will come along when prices are lower. The country has been going a slow pace in construction work in recent years and much needs to be done. We are bound to remember, however, that a change from a rising market, when everybody is eager to buy ahead of his wants, to a falling market, when everybody refrains from buying as long as he can, is always a breeder of apprehensions. When the war is over, the war demands cease and the soldiers are released to industry, everybody has notice that prices will reverse the course they have followed since the war began.

The question of costs will then be the serious one in the United States, for if our exports are cut off and our production must all be marketed at home, prices are bound to be unremunerative. None of us want to say anything about reducing wages. The high wage-scale of this country, and the great distribution of goods which

accompanies it, is one of the conditions of our prosperity. Nobody wants to disturb it, but there is only one way to avoid disturbing it, and that is by increasing the efficiency of our industries.

We want higher and higher efficiency, in organization, in management, at the work bench and in coördination of all. We won't get very far in foreign trade by ordinary and routine methods; we must have highly organized and concentrated effort, and genuine leadership in industry.

The United States Steel Corporation has fifteen warehouses in South America where it carries full stocks of the goods wanted in those localities. Furthermore, if there is a building to be put up or a bridge built, or any contract to be let in South America that calls for a considerable amount of steel, some bidder will be after it who will use American steel. More than half of all the steel buildings in South America were put up by a subsidiary company of the United States Steel Corporation. That is the kind of an organization and management that makes headway in foreign trade.

The automobile has shown how industry may be revolutionized by high organization. We have one great advantage in this country; we have the greatest home market in the world; and Michigan has helped to show that volume of product is the most important factor in costs. The most important thing about wages is not the rate per day or per week, but the rate per unit of product. That is the golden key by which the industrial problem may be solved. It is possible to reconcile the interests of employers and wage-earners and consumers, and it is possible to pay higher wages here than are paid in other countries and still sell goods abroad, if we can lead the world in methods of production.

There is no limit to this possibility if we can bring everybody to see how all interests can be served together. The public must be satisfied that it is interested in large scale, economical, production; and the wage-earners must be convinced that they are interested, not in restricting production, but in increasing production. They must be

brought to see not only that wages are dependent upon product, but that an increasing supply of the comforts of life for the entire community, including themselves, is dependent upon it. They must have a vision of the part they can play in the progress of the world.

There must be a clearer understanding of the value of wealth to the entire community, and of the fact that the profits of business when business is successful are largely employed for the improvement and development of industry. Michigan has taught us many things. I remember that it used to be said, perhaps some people say it yet, that nobody could make a million dollars honestly. Well, Henry Ford has made a million dollars look like thirty cents, and I don't know how many breakfast food millionaires there are in the state. You can find thousands of men who have become millionaires because they had something to sell that appealed to the fancy, or served the wants, of the American people. John Milton sold *Paradise Lost* for £5, but a good seller on the American market makes the author a fortune. The rewards of success are greater in this country than anywhere else because the purchasing power of the people is greater.

But among the demonstrations that Michigan has given are several methods of disposing of surplus income—income greater than a man needs for himself. Mr. Ford has been making some most interesting experiments. In the first place he pays wages above the market rate, partly I understand because it pays to do so, and partly as pure philanthropy, or because he thinks it just to do so. To the extent that the policy pays of course it does not dispose of his surplus income; it only makes that problem worse. To the extent that the policy is philanthropic its wisdom may be questioned, because it cannot be generally followed, and Mr. Ford himself has shown how money may be more beneficially used. He has been applying another portion of his income to the development of a farm tractor, and if the tractor is as great a success in its line as the Ford automobile is in its field this expenditure will be worth vastly more to the public, and to wage-earners generally,



than any wage philanthropies, because it will reduce the cost of producing food. And yet the investment in the tractor is an investment upon business principles, and illustrates the ordinary method of disposing of business profits. It may bring him as great a fortune as the automobile has produced.

But while this illustration of the service of wealth to the community may be informing to one class, his demonstration of the productive value of high wages may be of benefit to another class, the employers themselves. The wage-earners are not the only people who do not always know their own best interests, and perhaps none of us have ever had an adequate idea of how the wealth of the country could be increased by developing the capabilities of our people.

Philanthropy also may be a good investment from the standpoint of the community. A few years ago, when I lived in Washington, D. C., I came in contact with the organization of the International Health Commission (Rockefeller Foundation) in its work upon the hookworm disease, and one day I asked for and obtained the following memoranda of a case of which I had incidentally learned:

The —— family was on the pauper list of Lamar County, Mississippi. The county had spent about \$2,000 on this family. Something over three years ago Dr. Whitfield, one of our field directors in Mississippi, was conducting the dispensary work in Lamar County for the relief and control of hookworm disease. This family was examined and found to be heavily infected. They were treated. Soon after being treated they were taken off the pauper list. We have a letter from Mr. J. D. Hatton, a member of the Board of Supervisors of this county, living at Sumrall, Mississippi, stating that this family had been taken off the pauper list as a result of their treatment for hookworm disease. On September 9, 1914, we received a letter from Dr. W. S. Leathers, state director of the work in Mississippi, stating that this family is now living in —— County, Mississippi, and that the family made more than 10 bales of cotton last year.

We are not accustomed to think of philanthropy as profitable in dollars and cents, or as related to business, but what could be more practical than this? We must awake to the fact that every idle or inefficient man, and

every idle or wastefully tilled acre of land, represents a money loss to the whole community.

In recent years the most serious fact in our social and industrial situation has been the rising cost of food and the raw materials of our industries. The result has been that a large part of the gains in other industries have been counteracted to the wage-earners by the higher cost of living. It is a great misfortune to have the common necessities rising to permanently higher levels. It means that we are losing ground in the struggle with nature, and it ought not to be. The resources of science, if drawn upon, will give an increase of production sufficient to meet the increase of population at least for a long time. This is the most important subject before our people, for it lies at the basis of all our industries and the permanent well being of our people. There is no more striking example of common interests than in the interest which the people of all sections and all classes have in the progress of agriculture, and the work which the bankers of Michigan and other western states have been doing for its more scientific development is worthy of all commendation.

Everybody just now is wanting his wages increased, and claims that he must have more pay to hold his own, because the cost of living is going up so rapidly. But since the business of supplying our wants is carried on by distributing ourselves in the various occupations and exchanging products and services with each other, it follows that instead of raising prices all around on each other what we really want is to speed up production all around so that there will be more of everything for everybody. What we really want is 30 bushels of wheat to the acre instead of 15, a full bale of cotton to the acre instead of a quarter of a bale, cows that average 500 pounds of butter in a year instead of 150; factories that will turn out 10 yards of cloth with the same labor that now makes 5, and freight train loads of 1,000 tons instead of 500, and so on all around the circle of the industries.

There is no line of production in which improvements are not always possible; they are being made all of the

time. The steel industry is undoubtedly one of the most efficient industries in the country, and yet the by-product coke oven is just coming into use. A professor of chemistry in one of our large universities said the other day that if you would throw a tennis ball into Lake Michigan, the amount of water with which the ball came in contact as compared with all the water in the lake, would illustrate our knowledge of chemistry. Scarcely a process in industry is the same now as it was twenty years ago, and scarcely a process will be the same twenty years from now that it is now. What if we could speed up the changes and make them in ten years instead of twenty?

That country will have industrial leadership which can make these changes most rapidly. Notwithstanding the costly and vexatious labor troubles that we sometimes have, I believe that we have the most intelligent and receptive body of working people in the world, largely because they are the best paid. If we can awaken their genuine interest in industrial progress, if we can convince them that they are as much interested in reducing costs as their employers, if we can draw out their latent abilities, we need have no fear about the position of America after the war, or at any time in the future.

MANUFACTURING THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE  
A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RECENT MONARCHICAL  
MOVEMENT IN CHINA

*By Suh Hu, Columbia University, Editor-in-Chief of the  
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When in December, 1915, I was reading the numerous telegraphic messages from the provinces urging Mr. Yuan Shih-kai to become emperor, my curiosity was aroused by the fact that while the messages differed from one another both in conception and in execution, there were forty odd words which occurred together in all of them. These words were:

We, representatives of the citizens, by virtue of the will of the people, do hereby reverently nominate the present President Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor of the Chinese Empire, and invest him with all the supreme sovereign rights of the state. May he serve Heaven and lay the foundation to be transmitted to his heirs throughout ten thousand generations!

To any observant reader it was apparent that some master hand had been behind all those lengthy and flowery memorials; for otherwise it would be utterly inexplicable how the province of Kansuh and the province of Kiangsu (to take the two extremes), could use the same highbrow language of "the will of the people" and "the supreme sovereign rights of the state."

This surmise was not incorrect. These words, forty-five in all in the original, were secretly telegraphed from the monarchist headquarters in Peking to all the military and civil governors of the provinces on October 23, 1915, with the instruction that they must be inserted in the "memorials of nomination." This and many other secret telegrams sent from the monarchist headquarters in Peking to the various provinces, all of which to be deciphered

either with the *Hua* code or with the code of the executive mansion, have been collected from those provinces later taking part in the third revolution and have since been published in several languages. No better introduction to this most remarkable collection of historic documents is needed than the following passage from the last telegram in this collection dated December 21, 1915:

Since the promulgation of the law on the formation of the convention of the citizens' representatives, we, who are devoted to the welfare of the state, have desired to see that the decisions of that convention do not run counter to the wishes of the people. We have therefore striven so to apply the law as to meet the real needs and circumstances, adhering to the law whenever possible, and yielding to expediency whenever necessary. In carrying out this policy, there may have been certain letters and telegrams, both official and private, which have transgressed the bounds of the law. They will become absolutely useless when the affair is finished. Moreover, no matter how carefully their secrets are guarded, they will always remain as concrete records which might seriously compromise us; and . . . should they be handed down as part of the national records, they will stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty. The central government, after carefully considering the matter, has concluded that it would be better to sort out and burn the documents in order to remove all unnecessary records and prevent regrettable consequences. For these reasons, you are hereby requested to sift out all telegrams, letters and despatches concerning the change in the form of government (excepting those required by law to be filed on record), and cause the same to be burnt in your presence.

But this measure of precaution was already too late. It was sent out on the 21st of December, and on that very day troops were mobilized in the province of Yunnan, and two days later the famous Yunnan ultimatum reached Peking, demanding the immediate punishment of the leaders of the monarchist propaganda. The independence of that province was proclaimed on December 25, thus beginning the third revolution which lasted until the death of Yuan Shih-kai on June 6, 1916.

A complete history of the monarchist movement in China has yet to be written. Only a brief summary of its important steps can be given here. We shall not go back to Yuan Shih-kai's expulsion by force of the opposition members

in the national assembly, and the consequent dissolution of that body for lacking a quorum. Nor need we to take up the long story of the revision of the constitution and of the presidential election act which gave the president absolute powers and made his term of office not only permanent but also hereditary.<sup>1</sup> Suffice to say that Yuan Shih-kai and his clique were not satisfied with a virtually permanent and hereditary presidency. They wanted a full-formed monarchy, and they set out to realise that aim with a political skilfulness and dexterity which must surprise many a professional politician of the west.

The first step in the grand scheme for the overthrow of the republic and for the establishment of a monarchy was to call for "voluntary" petitions from the people urging a change in the form of government. We quote from the code telegram to the governors of the provinces dated August 30, 1915:

We propose that petitions be sent in the name of the citizens of the respective provinces to the administrative council acting in the capacity of national legislature, so as to demonstrate the wish of the people to have a monarchy. . . . The plan suggested is for each province to send in a separate petition, the draft of which will be made here and wired to the respective provinces in due course of time. . . . At all events, the change in the form of the state will have to be effected under the color of carrying out the people's will.

From another code telegram, dated September 10, 1915, we learn that "not fewer than one hundred petitions for a change in the form of the state have been received from people residing in all parts of the country." That was sufficient to prove that "the people were of one mind concerning this matter." By this time the administrative council had passed a law providing for a general convention of the representatives of the people to decide upon the question of a change in the form of government. A national convention bureau was established by the government with the monarchist clique in full control of it. On September 10, the bureau sent telegraphic instructions to the governors, "explaining confidentially, article by article, how to apply

<sup>1</sup> See my article in *The Outlook*, September 1, 1915.

the law in order to produce the desired results." We quote the first two sections of the instructions:

Article I of the law provides that "the petitioning for a change in the form of the state shall be decided by the general convention of the citizens' representatives." . . . . The words "shall be decided by the general convention of the citizens' representatives" refer to nothing more than a formal approval of the convention, and are by no means intended to give room for discussion of any kind. Indeed, it was never intended that the citizens should have any choice between a republic and a monarchy. For this reason, at the time of voting all the representatives must be made unanimously to advocate a change of the republic into a monarchy. It behooves you, therefore, prior to the election and voting, privately to search for *such persons as are willing to express the people's will in the sense above indicated*. You will also make the necessary arrangements beforehand so that there may be no divergence of opinion when the time arrives for putting the question to a vote.

Article II provides: "The citizens' representatives shall be elected by separate ballot signed by the person voting. The person obtaining the greatest number of votes cast shall be declared elected." Now, the citizens' representatives, though nominally elected by the electors, are in reality appointed beforehand by you acting as Superintendent of Election. The principle of separate signed ballot is adopted in this article with the object of preventing the voters from voting otherwise than as directed, and of awakening in them a sense of responsibility for their votes. Again, since the law says that the person obtaining the greatest number of votes cast shall be declared elected, it is necessary for you to have everything prepared beforehand. You should, prior to the voting, divide the electors into groups, and assign to each group the names of the persons intended to be elected. . . . . Furthermore, deputies should be appointed to supervise the proceedings, and the voters are to be privately instructed to vote according to the secret list of names. In this way the persons elected will not be such as will get beyond our control.

But all this red tape, though very ingeniously devised, was still too slow for the impatient would-be founders of the new dynasty. Thus spoke Mr. Sun Yu-Chun, the impetuous president of the Chiu-An-Hwei (Society for the Preservation of Peace) in a code telegram dated September 26, 1915:

. . . . . Moreover, the situation is critical and the country is in great unrest. How can we wait for the convention of the citizens' representatives which will not meet until several

months hence! Thus a new method for obtaining the people's will has to be devised.

This "new method" consists in this:

The military and civil governors of the provinces are requested to call an extraordinary meeting of the general convention of citizens, in which each district (hsien) is to be represented by one person to be selected from among the gentry or common people of the district who are residing in the provincial capital. The voting shall take place by signed ballot on which the word "monarchy" or republic is to be written. The military and civil governors and the military commandants, acting as superintendents of election, shall open the ballots then and there. In case a majority of the votes are in favor of a monarchy, the persons so voting shall forthwith name a person who is to be the emperor. The military and civil governors and the military commandants shall then report by telegram to the administrative council the number of votes and the name of the person recommended as emperor; and the general convention of citizens shall simultaneously despatch a telegram to the administrative council, authorizing the latter to announce the number of votes in favor of a monarchy and the name of the person nominated. You are earnestly requested to make immediate preparations therefor.

*. . . . We may add that though this plan is proposed by us alone, it will differ in no material respect from that which the administrative council will eventually adopt.*

The last sentence which I have put into italics, is worth noting. These are the words of the head of a nominally private organization which was founded for the purpose of "studying the problem of the form of government," and which had the audacity to predict what plans the administrative council acting in the capacity of national legislature, would "eventually adopt!"

The administrative council, however, did not have the courage to dispense with the formality of a national election. Says a code telegram from the Chiu-An-Hwei dated September 27, 1915:

In order to clothe the proceedings with an appearance of gravity, the representatives of the districts, though really appointed by the highest authorities of the province, should still be nominally elected by the districts. As soon as the representatives of the districts have been appointed, their names should be communicated to the magistrates of the respective districts, who are to be instructed to draw up the necessary documents formally



nominating the persons designated. Such documents, however, should be properly antedated.

But the administrative council, as predicted, did abandon the plan of holding the general convention of the citizens' representatives (kuoh-ming tai-piao ta hwei), and adopted instead the device of holding a convention of citizens (kung-ming ta hwei) in each provincial capital. There was to be a primary election at which a certain number of electors were to be elected whose duty it was to proceed to the provincial capital where a second election was to be held for the selection of delegates to the convention. On October 10, 1915, the national convention bureau telegraphed these interesting instructions:

All the superintendents of the primaries (i.e., the district magistrates) are absolutely responsible for having the proper persons elected within their respective districts. They should, before the elections, carefully consider what sort of men are those who are qualified to be elected, and select those who are good-natured and obsequious and of the same mind as ourselves. These are to be considered as the persons who should be elected. The superintendents will then judiciously assign their names to the several voters, and request them to vote as directed. If they find any difficulty in carrying out these instructions, *they should not hesitate to use measures that are invisibly coercive, in order to obtain the desired results from the voting.* . . . .

The method of manipulating the electors after their arrival at the provincial capital is contained in another telegram dated October 11.

. . . . . When the electors of the districts have reported themselves at the provincial capital, a reception committee should be appointed to meet them and exchange views with them. The superintendents of election should then, under pretext of inviting them to a social gathering or dinner party, request their presence at their official mansion and improve the occasion by explaining to them the fundamental principles of the monarchical movement as well as the general situation of the country, and by making known to them the names of those who are to be elected. *No methods should be left untried until our objects are achieved.*

On October 26, the national convention bureau sent out this code telegram:

After the form of the state has been put to a vote, the nomination of an emperor should be made forthwith without further voting. You should address the delegates and tell them that a monarchy having been decided upon, not a single day should pass without a monarch; that the delegates should now nominate Yuan Shih-kai as the Great Emperor of the Chinese Empire; and that if they are in favor of the proposal, they should signify their assent by a standing vote. This done, the text of the proposed petition of nomination should be handed to the delegates for their signatures. After that, you should again address them to the effect that in all matters concerning the nomination and the petition for immediate enthronement, they may, in the name of the citizens' representatives, invest the administrative council with general powers to act in their behalf and to take the necessary steps until the petition is finally granted. The prepared text of the telegram from the delegates to the acting legislative council should then be shown to the delegates for approval.

. . . . As for the exact words to be inserted in the petition of nomination, they have been communicated to you in our telegram of the 23rd inst. These characters, forty-five in all,<sup>2</sup> must on no account be altered. The rest of the text is left to your discretion.

The rest of the story the world well knows. These secret instructions were carried out to the letter. The citizens' conventions were held at the various provincial capitals. The voting was done by signed ballots in the presence of the military and civil governors and military commandants as superintendents of election, and with armed troops surrounding the convention halls for the protection of the delegates and for the preservation of peace and order. The voting was of course unanimous in favor of changing the republic into a monarchy. Memorials of nomination were then signed by the delegates, "reverently nominating the present President Yuan Shih-kai as the Great Emperor of the Chinese Empire." The administrative council was then authorized by the delegates to act as their national agent, and the votes of the provincial conventions were transmitted to that body for final counting and announcement. The climax of the drama was reached when on November 11, 1915, the administrative council met and announced that out of 2043 votes cast, 1993 voted in favor of changing the republic into a monarchy. Thereupon, the council immediately petitioned President Yuan Shi-kai,

<sup>2</sup> Quoted at the beginning of this article.

urging him to accept the throne so unanimously tendered him by the people. President Yuan of course declined the honor, and it was not until the petition had been presented to him the second time that he reluctantly declared his acceptance and ordered that "all the ministers and departments make the necessary preparations for the enthronement." The last order was entirely unnecessary, for the bureau on preparations for the great ceremony had long been at work with its offices in the presidential palace.

The will of the people having so unanimously expressed itself, it became necessary to reward the founders of the new dynasty who had so dexterously brought this will into articulate expression. Thus, for example, in two days (December 21 and 23), two hundred and six titles of nobility were awarded by Emperor-elect Yuan Shih-kai, of this number there being 6 dukes, 9 marquises, 13 counts, 10 earls and 36 barons, all of the First Order; 1 duke, 3 earls and 19 barons of the Second Order; 30 barons of the Third Order; 55 Knights of the Light Chariot of the First Order, 19 Knights of the Second Order, and 4 Orders of Merit. These honors did include Messrs. Sun Yu-chun, Yang Tu, Ku Ngao, Liang Sze-yi, Tuan Chi-kwei, *et al.*, the real founders of the dynasty. It was reported that this delay was caused by the fact that these gentlemen were unable to reach an agreement as to the proper titles they were to receive from the new emperor.

Before any workable agreement was reached among the emperor-makers themselves, the third revolution had spread over several provinces. The government's well-paid but very poorly disciplined troops proved to be no match for the patriotically inspired soldiers of the punitive expedition. One province after another declared independence, and joined the revolution. But Mr. Yuan still hoped to retain his presidency at the price of his emperorship. So a decree was issued on March 22, 1916, pleading for his "lack of virtue," cancelling his acceptance of the imperial throne, and ordering that all the petitions for a change in the form of the state and for his enthronement be returned through

the administrative council to the original petitioners to be burnt and destroyed.

But this act of virtue and repentance had no longer any effect on the rebellious provinces which continued to secede from the central government, until finally even Governor Chen Yi of Sze-chuen and Governor Tong Shiang-ming of Hu-nan, both of whom had long been regarded by Mr. Yuan as his most loyal supporters, were compelled by the popular uprising to proclaim the independence of their respective provinces. That came like a death blow to the ex-emperor who, according to reports, fell ill five days after the secession of Hu-nan, and died on June 6, 1916, after an illness of one week.

After Yuan Shih-kai's death, the vice-president, General Li Yuen-hung, who had defied the many threats of the monarchists and had persistently refused all the honors which the new dynasty insisted upon giving him, automatically became president of the republic. On June 29, the first constitution of the republic proclaimed on March 11, 1912, was restored. And on July 14, the military congress which had been the central authority of all the rebellious provinces, was dissolved and the third revolution was declared to be at an end.

Here ends our story. It has not been a pleasant duty for me, a Chinese, to tell it to the world. Although I have greatly rejoiced that a false god which the world had created through its own credulity, has at last been shattered to dust, I have, however, no present interest in once more disclosing Yuan Shih-kai's "lack of virtue." Mr. Yuan has written his own epitaph with his own deeds, and it is no courage to slay the slain. What has really inspired me to write this account, is my belief that the whole episode may furnish the world with a fresh proof of China's sincerity in her democratic aspirations and in her strife for an upright and enlightened government. An American writer has well said: "I do not believe that the Chinese Revolution has failed, for I do not believe that it is finished."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Gardner L. Harding, *Present-day China*, p. 9.

The first Chinese republic of 1912 has not failed, for it has never been given a fair trial. It died an abortive death, but its spirit has persisted and grown despite the skill and the organized strength of the reactionary forces under the leadership of Yuan Shih-kai and his clique. The internal political struggle in China during the last several years has been a struggle of New China, the child of the intellectual revolution of the last quarter of a century, against Chinese officialdom which has been corrupting and weakening the nation for centuries. The dramatic episode of the monarchical restoration which I have documentarily sketched above, sufficiently illustrates the personnel, the spirit and the method of official China. It achieved its consummate success on the day when the administrative council announced to the world that out of 2043 representatives of the people, 1993 voted for the immediate enthronement of Yuan Shih-kai. But official China miscalculated its own strength and misunderstood the spirit of the nation. It failed to see that when it had to put up at least the appearance of "going to the people" for approval and sanction of its actions, its death knell was already tolled and its final downfall assured. Its last efforts of political engineering and downright corruption only helped to consolidate new China and to drive the moderates and even the conservatives into the camp of the revolutionists. The third revolution was not undertaken by the ultra-radicals of the type of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It was led largely by such moderate leaders as Tsai Ao and Liang Chi-Chiao, and supported by the radicals. Against this consolidated new China, Chinese officialdom was impotent. And great was the fall of it.

It is true that official China has not yet entirely given up the fight, and that the Chinese revolution is not yet finished. But the monarchist movement has helped to bring its main issue into prominent relief: it is a fight between New China and Chinese officialdom. May what has been said above serve to convince the world that young China is earnest in her struggle for democracy and enlightenment!

## ALBANIA AND THE BALKANS

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Albania, erected into a principality, remains the most unhappy and the wildest object of the eager watching of Austria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Italy.—*Balkan Commission of Inquiry, Carnegie Endowment, 1914.*

The country which is today known as Albania has been the home of one of the most ancient peoples of Europe and perhaps the most ancient of all in the Balkan Peninsula. The name of Albania is of comparatively very recent origin, brought to the knowledge of western Europe, as it seems very likely, by her Norman invaders who found the pronunciation of the word "Shkypenia" (The Land of the Eagle), very difficult, as the natives have with pride called their country from time immemorial. Tradition, for the history of Albania consists mainly of traditions, relates even in our own days that the first king of Albania who made use of the word "Shkypenia," from whence the Albanians are called "Shkypetars" (Sons of the Eagle), was the famous Pyrrhus of Epirus or Molossia (Southern Albania), the Pyrrhus who was the first to defeat the hitherto invincible Romans and who sent his first councillor, the not less famous Cinna, to the Roman Senate. When someone praised the swiftness of the movements of his troops, he proudly answered that this was natural since his soldiers were the Sons of the Eagle and their movements were therefore similar to the flight of the king of birds.

But, in the ancient times, the country was known under the name of Illyria and was inhabited by the same Aryan race by which the Macedonia of Philip and Alexander the Great was peopled, so that there is the closest racial connection between the people whom the great soldier led to

Asia and India and those direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, the Albanians of today, whose ancestors participated in the great campaign of their kinsman king against the Persians.

The earliest known king of Illyria was Hyllus (The Star) who died in the year 1225 B.C. Eight centuries later, Bardhyllis (The White Star), one of the eminent kings of Illyria, succeeded in uniting under his sceptre the kindred kingdoms of Molossia (Southern Albania or Epirus) and Macedonia. His successor Teuta, the legendary queen of Albania, whose trace of whose reign the modern Albanians are proud to show even at the present day on the rocks of the river Bojana where she fastened the chains by which she sought to regulate the traffic and the entrance of the foreign ships into the port of Scutari, the then capital of Albania, waged a disastrous war against the republic of Rome in which she lost her throne. On the other hand the kingdom of Molossia in Southern Albania was established under Pyrrhus I, son of Achilles, 1270 B.C., if we are to give credit to the legends and traditions of those days. The ties of kinship among the kindred peoples of Illyria, Molossia, and Macedonia were still more strengthened by the intermarriages between their dynasties. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, was a daughter of Molossia. Through the right of succession derived from the intermarriages, the same king sometimes happened to rule two or all three kingdoms.

But legendary as may seem the traditions of the origin of Albania, her history, dating from those remote times, constitutes a long and uninterrupted record of battles and struggles for self-preservation. She has had to face successively the ever-increasing flow of the various invaders, the Romans, the Celts, the Goths, the Slavs, the Turks, and all the powerful barbarian hordes which poured from time to time into the Balkan Peninsula. In many instances, the sheer number of the invaders crushed under its weight the tenacious resistance of the Albanians who were forced to abandon the plains and lowlands and seek a refuge in the inaccessible mountains, wherein thenceforth mostly

lies the history of Albania. The various invaders did succeed in founding ephemeral empires and kingdoms such as those of the Servians and the Bulgarians, under the respective Czars Dushan and Simeon. The territory of Albania might have been conquered, but the Albanians themselves have never been subdued, and have had, in their turn, driven out the intruders, as soon as they recovered from their previous strenuous efforts. The longest period during which the Albanians remained under the Slavs is about sixty years. But in this instance also only the lowlands and plains were under the domination of the invaders. None the less, the overwhelming number of the Slavs succeeded finally in expulsing the Albanians from the plains and some mountain regions, which constitute today the territories of Serbia and Montenegro and a great part of Slavised Macedonia, confining them in the highlands in order that the surname of "Sons of the Eagle" might find a practical meaning. There, in the inaccessible mountains, the Albanians have been secluded for centuries, far from any beneficial foreign influence. If they had any experience at all of the outside world, it was only through bloody battles and in the form of greedy and ferocious enemies.

But before the Slav invasion had come to an end, after wholesale and frightful massacres of Albanian families by the invaders the remembrances of which even today stand as an insuperable barrier between the Albanian and the Slav, the remnants of the Illyrians had to face a still more redoubtable foe. The unvanquished hordes of the Moslem Sultans which had already swept away all the other nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula, Greek and Slav, and extended their military operations even to Vienna, turned now their victorious arms against the weakened Albanians by their struggles with the Slav. John Castriota, the Prince of Albania, accepted the inevitable, after vain efforts of resistance and pledged submission to Murad II to whom he delivered as hostages his four sons. These were brought to Adrianople and poisoned by order of the Sultan, except the youngest, George Castriota, the prince who was destined to be the last of the soldiers of western



civilization and Christianity against the Asiatic barbarism, one of the noblest figures in the mediaeval history of Europe whom the Turks themselves surnamed "Scanderbeg" (Prince Alexander) for his unequalled bravery and gallantry. He survived the tragical death of his brothers for the Sultan had divined in him the right man to carry out his projects of conquest. When only eighteen years old, Scanderbeg was already the commander of an expedition to Asia Minor wherein he won his early fame and the surname of Prince Alexander. But the glory and the honors he obtained in the service of the Sultan could not efface his sorrow at the destitution of the beloved country of his fathers of which he had never ceased to dream, nor could they appease his revengeful feelings against the destroyer of her independence and the murderer of his brothers. All he wished in order to carry out his secret plan was the proper occasion which did not take long to come.

In the year 1443, the Moslem armies under the command of Scanderbeg and the Turk Caram Pasha, were utterly defeated at the battle of Nish by the troops of King Ladislaus of Hungary, Scanderbeg having largely contributed to the triumph of the Christian armies by his premeditated false manoeuvres during the battle. And in the midst of the hasty plight of the routed Moslems, Scanderbeg extorted from the Sultan's Secretary his nomination as governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, and, with a handful of loyal Albanian soldiers, proceeded with the utmost speed to the scene of his dreams.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow most graphically and dramatically describes his return to, and reinstatement as king of, Albania in his inspired poem entitled "Scanderbeg"<sup>1</sup> from which we quote only the passage relating to the abolition of the Turkish sovereignty:

Anon from the castle walls,  
The Crescent banner falls,  
And the crowd beholds instead,  
Scanderbeg's banner fly.  
The Black Eagle with double head;  
And a shout ascends on high,

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<sup>1</sup> Tales of a Wayside Inn.

For men's souls are tired of the Turks,  
And their wicked ways and works,  
They have made of Ak-Hissar<sup>a</sup>  
A city of the plague;  
And the loud exultant cry  
That echoes wide and far  
Is: "Long live Scanderbeg!"

Since that fateful date, a war of extermination was declared against the Albanian king by the Sultan. Strong and mighty armies were sent against Albania, and the capital of Croia has been twice besieged but without any success for the Sultan, while his armies were routed as soon as they came in contact with the handful of the Albanians under Scanderbeg. Without any aid or assistance of any sort from the other Christian princes, the celebrated hero victoriously pursued the war against the Turks for a quarter of a century. Once only bloomed the hope of a new crusade under the generalship of the Albanian prince through the entreaties of Pope Pius II, whose sudden death at the beginning of the preparations put an end to the long cherished dream. Thus Albania unfortunately missed a most favorable occasion of being better known in the world.

But, in spite of these drawbacks, Scanderbeg continued the war without respite, quite heedless of the peace offers of the Sultan Mehmet II, the Conqueror, who won that title by the capture of Constantinople. At last, the Moslems lost any hope of conquering Albania and Scanderbeg thought the moment had come to organize his free kingdom. But the inexorable destiny of mankind, Death, interrupted his work in the year 1467, and Albania fell under the power of the Turks in 1478, twenty-five years after the fall of Constantinople. In our days the Albanians still mourn the loss of their illustrious king.

The conquest of Albania by the Turks was effected with the greatest difficulties and the history of the previous foreign occupations was repeated once again. The highlands, the provinces of Mirdita and Mati, in Northern Albania, and the district of Chimarra, in Southern Albania,

<sup>a</sup> Croia, the capital of Albania.

had jealously preserved their independence up to the year 1912 when the Turks lost their hold on their possessions in the Balkan Peninsula and the independence of Albania was proclaimed. In reality, the Albanians never did keep quiet under the Turkish domination, nominal as it was. Bloody but unsuccessful revolutions against the Turks occurred at very short intervals, such as in 1689, 1737, 1786, 1821, coincident with the Greek revolution in which a great host of Albanian warriors, such as Admiral Miaulis, Boulgaris, Andrutchos, the heroic Suliots, the celebrated heroine Bubulina, and many others whose names adorn modern Greek history took part and whose rôle was of such importance as to lead Mr. Wadham Peacock to the conclusion that the liberation of Greece would likely have not been obtained had not it been for the Albanian warriors who supplied the best fighting material for the insurrection.<sup>3</sup> In 1835, 1878, 1908, 1910, and in 1912 in which latter year the Albanian rebels prepared the way of success and conquest to the ungrateful Balkan States, by shattering the foundations of the Turkish domination in the Balkans.

But if the Turks were unsuccessful in their efforts of completely submitting the Albanians, their domination, none the less, has seriously impaired the situation of the Albanian nation. The love of liberty and independence drove many Albanians out of their country. These found a refuge in Italy and the islands as well as in the interior of Greece,<sup>4</sup> while many others, about one half of the whole number, preferred to embrace the religion of the conqueror and be treated as allies rather than as a conquered people, with the sad result of the division of the Albanians into two opposite religious groups, a division that might prove fatal to any other Balkan nationality whose destinies are mainly governed by the creed of the people, but not to Albania where the religious influence is the least felt, strange as it may seem to those impressed differently by their experience and observations in the Balkans. But the greatest misfortune which befell the Albanians has been

<sup>3</sup> *Albania, the Foundling State of Europe*, 1914, Appleton Company.

<sup>4</sup> W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, p. 165.

their seclusion in the inaccessible mountains, far from the touch of, and contact with, civilization, in a state of social and political lethargy enlivened only by their frequent revolts against the conquerors of their plains. These conditions which lasted four and a half centuries grew worse with the progress of the time, but were unable to deteriorate the natural intelligence and vigour of the Albanian race. As time went on, the conquered became the masters of the conquerors: Albanian statesmen governed for long periods of time the Turkish Empire, without mentioning that to-day even Greece is mainly directed by statesmen of Albanian extraction.

Such is in short the history of Albania. But great and glorious as the origin and the traditions of the Albanian nationality are, the Albanians nevertheless are at the present time less known, not only to the American but even to the European public, than any nationality which has only very recently made its appearance in the world's arena. Not generations but centuries covered under their dust and ashes the glory and the traces of the origin of the Illyrian-Albanian race, though they were entirely powerless to efface or alter the traditions, the language, the customs, and the national characteristics which have been most jealously and affectionately preserved by the Albanians through the longest period of time history records.

It may seem quite paradoxical, though entirely true, that the origin of the most ancient of the Balkan races is less known than it is the case with the recent intruders. It may seem strange and unexplicable that the rights of the aboriginal Balkan race are disregarded whereas the greatest attention is paid to the claims of the much more recent Balkan nationalities, such as the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Montenegrins which made their appearance in the Peninsula thousands of years after. But the fact is undisputable. The Albanians and their rights are ignored to the benefit and profit of those same nationalities against whom the direct descendants of the aboriginal Illyrians held their own for centuries.

But, it is during and after the two Balkan wars of 1912

and 1913 respectively that we can realize what unjust treatment Albania received in the hands of European diplomacy, supported by a misguided but great part of public opinion.

The independence of Albania was proclaimed at Valona, November 28, 1912, under extremely unfavorable conditions. The Balkan Allies were overrunning from all parts her territories and, inebriated over their easy and unexpected triumphs, they openly declared their firm determination to keep any territory that would come into their possession, a flat denial of their proclamation at the beginning of the campaign which purported to be a war of liberation for the peoples of the Peninsula oppressed by the Turks. They soon took to playing the rôle of the arrogant and merciless conqueror and from the very first days they inaugurated the policy of terrorism and prosecutions in Albania with the view of denationalizing a territory that thirty-one centuries of human history had respected. The experience the Balkan States had drawn from the methods of the Young Turks whom they zealously supplanted, proved of great value to them; they even surpassed the Turks in determination and criminal efficiency, as it has been testified by the Carnegie Balkan Commission which investigated the case on the spot. Its report is copious in descriptions of frightful atrocities and massacres perpetrated by so-called Christian soldiers against Christian peoples, which led the Commission to draw the conclusion that the standard of civilization in the Balkans is much lower than it was previously thought to be.

The excesses of the Balkan States caused much anxiety among certain great Powers. If Servia, Greece, and Montenegro were determined to disregard the rights of the Albanian nationality, Austria and Italy who were particularly interested in the fate of Albania which they had settled by a secret treaty early in 1900,<sup>5</sup> were the least disposed to acquiesce in. The government of Vienna, therefore, mobilized a great part of her army and had

<sup>5</sup> *Italian Green Book*, 1914-1915, Doc. No. 71.

Servia refused to comply with the injunctive ultimatum of Austria for the evacuation of the Albanian territories by the Servian troops, the great European war which is now raging on would have broken out earlier, i.e., in 1912. The political atmosphere was full of electricity and the great Powers, anxious to avert or rather to postpone the inevitable catastrophe, agreed to meet in conference which would settle the Albanian question.

The London Conference, composed of the ambassadors of the six great Powers accredited to the Court of St. James, convened early in December, 1912, and its first act was the recognition of the Albanian principality which it placed under the collective protection of the six great Powers. Its deliberations were tedious and enervating. Two great Powers, namely Russia and France, agreed to the principle of the Albanian independence but with very bad humor and went to the Conference quite reluctantly. Russia particularly was very anxious that her protégés, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro, should retain as much of the Albanian territory as it was possible to purloin. She therefore fought step by step, with the aid of her faithful ally, France, every proposition of Austria and Italy tending to establish reasonable, more or less, frontiers. Under such conditions, it is not the least surprising that Albania came out of the London Conference pitilessly mutilated and stripped of half of her territory which went to Servia, Greece, and Montenegro. About one million of Albanians have been left to Servia and half as many to Greece and Montenegro.

But the fatal mischiefs of such an artificial arrangement were more keenly felt on the settling of the future status and in drafting the constitution of the Albanian State which were also done by the conference. It, indeed, created nothing more or less than a mere sham principality with the doors for foreign interference wide-open, a logical consequence of the secret wishes of the two groups of the powers. Russia and France, once obliged to recognize the independence of Albania, sought to compensate themselves by regulating the new state in such a way as to make it as weak as they could, with the view of a final partition among

the Balkan States. Austria and Italy, on the other hand, were governed by the same motives but in quite another direction; they would have a splendid occasion of interference in a weak and tottering Albania which they could, at the end of the count, divide between them. As for England, she was trying to keep up the balance without compromising herself, though much is owed to her that Albania was not made weaker.

We pass now to see how the provisions of the London Conference were carried out. To the general merriment of a part of the European public and to the satisfaction of the diplomats who had foreseen the case, the Balkan States refused to comply with the decisions of the powers, and when they had been hard pressed by the interested powers, they avoided the crisis by various ingenious stratagems. This applies mainly to Greece, for the Servians and Montenegrins have been kept out of Albania by the threatening sword of Austria. Greece was more fortunate because she had to deal with Italy alone and the government of Rome was the least disposed to go to extremities; it rather adopted the policy of relying on the complacency of Greece in evacuating Southern Albania. Meanwhile, the Greek government, out of deference to the decisions of the great Powers, as it declared, agreed to evacuate the Albanian territory in a very conscientious way. She set up a provisional government for the Autonomous Epirus, as she styled Southern Albania, provided it with all the necessary military means, chiefly by disguising as Epirotes a good part of the royal Greek army and, lastly, she informed Europe that she was ready to evacuate the territories but for the opposition of the inhabitants who would in no way let her go! And in order to show how great was the attachment and the love of the native population towards Greece, the royal army burned down some 300 towns and villages and drove out of their hearths more than 300,000 Albanians who sought a refuge at Valona wherein they have been fed for some time by the Albanian Relief Fund Committee of New York.\* In reality, the Greek

\* *Christian Work* for October 10, 1914.

troops had never evacuated Southern Albania, in which they perpetrated every sort of frightful massacres, until very recently when they have been replaced by Italian troops which are now in occupation of those Albanian districts.

As for the internal situation of the Albanian State, we have but little to say, for everyone must have understood that it could not be better than it was devised to be. Prince William of Wied was elected to the throne of Albania and took possession thereof on March 7, 1914, most heartily and enthusiastically greeted and acclaimed by the people who expected in his person the worthy successor of Scanderbeg. But, whatever might have been his dispositions and projects, he was not in position to carry them out.

Prof. A. L. Lowell says in his *Government of England* that "government means not action by universal consent, but compulsory obedience to an ultimate authority." Now that authority was totally absent from the Albanian State. True, there was a government and also an international commission of control, composed of one delegate from every great Power, with one Albanian delegate, to aid the King and his government, but as there was no real authority, it is idle to consider it as a government in the sense we are used to understand it. Moreover, its action, weak and inadequate as it might have been, was entirely negatived by the unscrupulous interference of the so-called protectors of Albania. Foreign agents and agitators, official and semi-official, were overrunning her and the government could in no way interfere with their operations. If it did, it had to apologize to their respective ministers; if it arrested or tried to deport them, it had to offer its excuses not only to their diplomatic agents, but what is more revolting, even to the prisoners. A case of this sort arose with the arrest of two foreign agitators, belonging to one of the direct protectors of Albania, by the Dutch organizers of the embryo Albanian gendarmerie. The offended foreign minister called for excuses, and when they were refused to him by the much-regretted Colonel Thomson, sub-head of the Dutch Mission, he demanded from the



Albanian government the dismissal of the colonel whose heroic death in defending the just cause of Albania has spared her and him of such a repugnant insult to the memory of the gallant soldier of Holland.

Three months after the arrival of the King, a revolution broke out in Central Albania. At the beginning it was directed against the great landowners but gradually it took the character of an anti-dynastical movement, through the untired efforts of those who conspired against the existence of Albania. The agitation was limited to a few towns and villages, but as there was no military force to suppress it, it spread to the adjoining districts. Moreover, the rebels were almost openly supported by a great power which was desirous of getting rid of the King and which, having the command of the sea, provided them with all the necessary material even with heavy artillery. None the less, the situation of the king was not wholly hopeless, for the greater part of the free soil of Albania was at his side at all times, had not the European war rendered unsustainable his position. He left his realm after a turbulent and discouraging reign of seven months, and Albania fell into a state of complete anarchy which had been insidiously fostered by those who most earnestly wished to profit by it. A little later on, Italy seized the much-coveted seaport of Valona with the intention of transforming it into a new Gibraltar, and in the course of her negotiations with Austria, previous to her entering in war against the Dual Monarchy, Albania served in many instances as a free object of exchange and mutual compensation.<sup>7</sup>

Such is the tragical history of the unfortunate Albanian nation which has the further misfortune of being discredited and calumniated as ungovernable by the very persons who brought about the present conditions.

As to her actual situation, this it is quite plain needs to be further explained. At the present time, she is divided into two zones of foreign occupation in the possession respectively of Austria and Italy. In many instances and

<sup>7</sup> *Italian Green Book*, 1914, 1915, various documents.

on many occasions the Italian government has formally declared that one of the aims of Italy in prosecuting the present war is to assure the independence of Albania. Austria on her side, has been silent on the subject since she got possession of Northern and Central Albania. She protested against the blockade of the coast of the "sovereign" state of Albania by the Italian navy, in the early days of the war, but since then no word has reached us from Vienna about the fate of Albania.

What may be the fate of Albania in the future and what do the Albanians wish?

The first question is a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, in considering the actual tendencies and the various official pledges, it seems quite sure that the great Powers will abide by their former decisions as regards the principle of the independence of Albania, but much is to be feared as to the meaning they will attach to the word independence, their predilection going always to the creation of sham and impotent states, without regard to national rights and international law or morality.

Coming to the second question, the point of view of the Albanians is that they must have a compensation, for their previous cruel sufferings, in a really independent Albania, free from foreign interference, unhaunted by the ghost of invasion, with a strong national government. If they cling still to the fatal decisions of the London Conference, artificial and prejudicial as they are, they do so for fear of a worse arrangement.

To this end, the most effective moral support can come to them from the great American nation and the powerful influence of the government of the United States. This is the ardent hope and wish of the 60,000 Albanians who enjoy the blessings of peace and liberty in the United States as well as of the entire Albanian nation.

## TRUE PAN-AMERICANISM: A POLICY OF COÖPERATION WITH THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

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One of the striking facts in connection with our foreign relations is the recent increase of interest throughout the United States in Latin America. This change is shown in many ways, and may be measured in part by definite figures. The leading newspapers in the United States, for example, according to the reports of the statisticians in the Pan American Union, gave more news space to Latin America in a single month of the past year than the same papers gave in the thirty-six months of 1907, 1908 and 1909; our magazines had more articles on Latin America in the first three months of 1916 than in the five years from 1907 to 1912; while more books dealing with Latin America were published in this country in 1914 than in the entire period from 1906 to 1910. A recent bibliography of the two hundred best volumes on South America shows that seven-eighths of them appeared within the past five years.

This increased interest appears in other ways, such as in the teaching of Spanish; at the present time some two thousand educational institutions in this country are giving instruction in Spanish, while ten years ago there were hardly more than fifty. Over 1700 clubs in the United States are making a study of Latin America and Pan American relations; while our leading colleges and universities are now introducing courses on the history, commerce and culture of the states to the south of us. Then there is the people's university, the moving picture show; it is estimated that three thousand moving picture theatres are every week showing to American audiences the people, the scenery, and the life of the republics of South America. Only a few

months ago Director General John Barrett stated that the Pan American Union was then receiving on an average between 200 and 300 letters a day asking for information on Latin American affairs, and added that it was not unusual to have as many as 25 cablegrams a day from Latin America, making various inquiries concerning the United States. About the same time the United States Bureau of Commerce, according to statements in the press, was receiving a daily average of 800 letters from all parts of the country regarding trade openings and economic conditions throughout the Latin American world.

There is no question as to our awakened interest in Latin America, but one naturally queries what has caused it. Probably it is due primarily to recent changes in political and economic conditions: the striking development of such South American countries as Argentina, Brazil and Chile; our anxiety to secure their markets as a field for our surplus manufactured goods, which we have now come to export in large quantities; and our recently felt need of more of the South American products, not only those from the tropics, such as coffee and rubber from Brazil, and cocoa from Ecuador and Venezuela, but beef and mutton from Argentina and Uruguay, and nitrates, iron ore and copper from Chile and Peru. Since the world war began, too, Latin America has been turning eagerly to the United States to secure the money necessary to carry on its great enterprises and even to tide over its strong governments while the money markets of Europe are closed. These recent changes in fundamental conditions, together with the desire to know more of the republics brought nearer to us by our new Panama Canal, the popular descriptions of the beauty and wealth of their leading cities, especially Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, the renewed discussion in this country over the Monroe Doctrine, the propagandist work of the Pan American Union, have all contributed to stimulate a new interest among us in Latin America, and to awaken us to the consciousness that there exist south of us some strong states with stable governments and cultured peoples.

One of the greatest problems before the United States, in its foreign relations, is to determine its proper policy towards this rapidly developing Latin America. It is hardly necessary to point out that the question of our relations to Mexico was the most vital single issue in the recent presidential campaign; but this is only one aspect of the broader Pan American question. In the future too our relations to Latin America will be even more important than at present, for the republics to the south will be continually growing in strength and population, and Europe will be making earnest efforts, as soon as this war is over, to regain and even increase its trade, commerce and economic influence throughout the Latin American world.

It should also be remembered that in the future more than at present, foreign policies will be settled democratically, by the mass of our people, rather than by cabinets or committees of Congress. It is one of the obligations of American citizenship therefore to study the facts regarding our foreign affairs, particularly those relating to our Latin American neighbors, and to help determine the policies which will be best both for our own country and for the rest of the world.

Pan Americanism, the policy of close coöperation among the republics of this hemisphere, is generally advocated from a business viewpoint. Whenever one listens to an address on the subject before a chamber of commerce, one realizes that the dominant thought among our manufacturers is simply how they may sell a greater quantity of goods to Latin America. Commercial relations, to be sure, are important; but it should be pointed out with the greatest emphasis that a genuine, successful Pan Americanism can not be based solely or even primarily upon trade and commerce. Practically every intelligent Latin American will endorse this statement. Pan Americanism, to be successful and lasting, must be based upon common purposes, common ideals, and a friendly coöperation among the various republics in achieving and realizing them.

The possibilities which may result from a genuine Pan Americanism, seem often to be as fully and clearly realized

in Europe as in our own country. A prominent member of the British Cabinet has stated that if a European international council, similar to the Pan American Union at Washington, had been in existence two years ago in any of the great capitals of Europe, there would have been no world war. This British cabinet minister is not the only European to realize these possibilities. They have probably never been more clearly seen than by an Austrian author, Dr. Alfred H. Fried, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. Four years before the war he wrote a book entitled *Pan Amerika*, in order to point out to Europe the frightful abyss towards which its policy of international anarchy was then rapidly pushing it, and to beg the leaders of Europe to create some international organization comparable to the Pan American Union. "Across the Atlantic," he said, "an America exists, but a Europe does not yet exist. European statesmen do not think in terms of Europe as a whole, in the way in which many American statesmen have come to think in terms of America as a whole. When Europe," he continued, "shall have created an international organization which shall serve for the Old World the purpose which the system of Pan American coöperation is coming to serve for the Western World, then there will be some foundation for a possible world peace."

Dr. Fried's prophesy and plea were made before the present war began; the war itself has deepened and intensified the conviction that only by the creation of some kind of international organization may recurring armed conflicts be avoided. The thirty most prominent peace programs of Europe and America practically agree that Hague conferences and international courts are not sufficient to check war, but that the world must have some international council or league or union. They practically ask that the world as a whole shall develop an international organization which shall be for all nations what the system of Pan American coöperation is coming to be for those of the Western Hemisphere.

The realization of this need is also seen in the widespread support given in this country to the recently formed

League to Enforce Peace. But such a league of all the great nations of the world would be far more difficult to create than one limited to the twenty-one American republics. In fact, Pan Americanism should be, in one of its aspects, a league to enforce peace for this hemisphere; and one of its probable results would be to save the New World for all time from such a world crime as is now being committed in Europe.

The possibilities of a genuine Pan American policy are undoubtedly most attractive; but we should consider carefully the obstacles which, it is sometimes claimed, lie in the way of the realization of such a policy, and then examine the bases, if any, on which this policy may rest.

In the first place, is there a Latin America? We speak as if there were two parties to the proposed policy of co-operation, the United States on the one hand and Latin America on the other. But is Latin American a unity? To be sure, the twenty Latin American republics speak substantially the same language,—the Portuguese of Brazil is closely related to the more generally spoken Spanish, while Haiti, where French is dominant, may be disregarded; their educational systems are similar; their religious life is substantially the same; the forms and even the practices of their governments seem to us much alike; while there is a striking similarity in the general culture of the educated classes in every one of the republics. We seem to find, too, some solidarity in feeling and sentiment.

A closer examination, however, of the twenty Latin American republics shows striking differences between them. In fact, Dr. Ernesto Nelson, Commissioner of Education in Argentina, recently said: "the terms Latin America and Latin Americans have no reality back of them, save to the extent of giving a name to a geographical accident." In racial stock they are not at all uniform. Argentina is almost purely European—in fact, the Argentine population is probably more purely European than is the population of the United States, while Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Paraguay are more than three-fourths Indian or part-Indian. In geographical situation the southern coun-

tries of South America, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Southern Brazil, are in the temperate zone, with all which that means in so many ways, while the rest of Latin America is in the tropics. The various republics also are to a considerable extent isolated from each other. In Buenos Aires for example there are today probably fewer Latin Americans from the entire republic of Colombia than Russians from nearly every province of the Russian Empire. Argentina has a smaller trade with the whole of Spanish America than with the single little Kingdom of Holland; while its commerce with its neighbor, Peru, is only one-fiftieth of that with far-away China. In their schools and universities the Latin Americans lay less stress upon the geography of the Latin American world than upon that of Asia; a student in Venezuela will know less about the states of Chile than about the cantons of Switzerland.

Divisions and jealousies also exist among them. Let anyone try the experiment of calling an educated Argentine a "South American," and see what reaction it brings. The Argentine will undoubtedly reply with mingled irritation and courtesy that he is no "South American" but an "Argentine," and will make it clear that his country has more in common with most of the states in Europe than with such relatively weak Latin American republics as Paraguay and Ecuador. There has even developed recently a feeling among the leading Argentines that it comports better with their dignity and standing to align themselves in international affairs with the United States rather than with their Latin American neighbors.

A further difficulty in the way of a genuine Pan Americanism is thought to lie in the attitude of Latin America, as a whole, towards the United States. While the different republics vary considerably in their feeling towards our country, and while the same republic often alters its sentiment from time to time, yet in all of them there is some latent suspicion and fear of the United States. This fact is due in part to our own history. Latin Americans remember well the account of our conquest of Mexican territory; and they realize keenly and more clearly than do we



the seemingly irresistible extension of the sovereignty, power and political influence of the United States southward into the Latin American world. Such incidents as our occupation of Panama have left an especially unfortunate impression; however earnestly we may defend the action of our government in this matter, we may be well assured that the great majority of thoughtful Latin Americans look upon "the Panama seizure" as a dangerous example of unjustified conquest. This latent suspicion and fear are in part, however, due to a more general cause, the great power of the United States and the relative weakness of even the most advanced of the South American states. As an intelligent South American, in conversation with the writer, expressed it, "the big fishes eat the little fishes;" the Latin American republics realize that they are the little fishes and are naturally somewhat afraid of the big fish of the North.

A still further fact, presented as an obstacle to Pan Americanism, is that Latin America is closer to Europe in some respects than it is to the United States. Steamship communication is certainly quicker and more frequent. When the writer was in Buenos Aires some three years ago one of the Argentines told of his experience in attempting to secure steamship accommodations for Europe; after going the rounds of all of the steamship agencies in the city he found that the staterooms on all of the steamers were engaged so far in advance that he could not secure passage to Europe for six months. One may be very sure, however, that there never would be any difficulty in obtaining accommodations on any steamer leaving Buenos Aires at any time for New York. A similar situation exists in regard to cable news. South America has relatively little information of any kind in its papers regarding the United States, and the few items which do appear are not satisfactory; on the other hand, their leading journals receive every day from Europe between 4,000 and 5,000 cable words summarizing everything of vital interest in the various countries of the Old World. In other respects, too, in their education, literature, religious life, social customs, and styles, they are more closely bound to Europe than they are to us.

These difficulties in the way of a Pan American policy, which are pointed out in order to present the subject with perfect candor, are more apparent than real. Although the various states of Latin America do not form one perfectly homogeneous whole, this fact is not at all important, provided they are sufficiently similar, and have interests in common strong enough, to induce them to act in cordial coöperation. Whatever differences and suspicions may exist between them, and also between them and our own country, these are certainly insignificant compared with the jealousies and enmities which for decades separated the various nations which are now so closely united in the European Entente. If Latin America is bound to Europe in some respects rather than to us, there are other respects in which we have common interests. There are broad and strong bases upon which the superstructure of Pan Americanism may be built.

In the first place there is the common democracy of the governments of North and South America. All of the republics to the South of us have written constitutions which are more or less closely copied from our own. Although their democracy—however poorly we may think of our own—is in actual practice not as successful as that in the United States, nevertheless it is a fact of importance that in form and in ideals the governments of all of the twenty-one American republics rest upon a similar democratic basis.

Still more significant, the United States and Latin America are both organized primarily on the basis of peace; while Europe, in contrast, has long been organized primarily on the basis of aggressive war. The states of North and South America sincerely and strongly believe, as a matter of principle, in settling international differences not by Europe's present method, but by the application of law in international courts and by arbitrations; and in solving problems of common international interest by general international coöperation.

The leadership taken by our own country in the attempt to substitute law and arbitration in place of war, is well

known, but the attitude of Latin America is not so generally understood. The first Pan American Congress, however, at Panama in 1825, was called by Bolivar in part for the purpose of adopting arbitration as a principle of Pan American policy. At the first of the more recent Pan American congresses, at Washington in 1889-90, the delegates of every American republic but one voted for the declaration, "the principle of conquest is eliminated from American Public Law." Only the other day the brilliant Ambassador from Argentina publicly said, the motto "'victory gives no rights,' is the highest expression of our Argentine aspirations." The statesmen of Argentina claim with pride that their Republic is not imperialistic, and point out that they seized no land from Paraguay after that country's complete overthrow in 1870 by the combined armies of Argentina and Brazil. Instead of conquest, Argentina submitted a boundary dispute with Paraguay to the arbitration of President Grover Cleveland, and lost; completely victorious in the war and perfectly able, together with Brazil, to partition Paraguay, it yet loyally accepted this adverse decision. A similar ideal is constantly presented by the statesmen of Brazil. In their present national constitution, adopted in 1891 and closely copied from that of the United States, there is the following clause, "The United States of Brazil shall in no case engage in a war of conquest, directly or indirectly, by itself or in alliance with another nation." A prominent Venezuelan in writing of the devotion of the Latin American states to the principle of peaceful international settlement, says,

In recent years we have had recourse to arbitration, and direct negotiations partaking often of the nature of arbitration, more frequently than in all the rest of the world. . . . In our international difficulties arbitration has always been the keynote of our negotiations. . . . All our boundary disputes—and they have been many—have been or are being settled by arbitration.

As further evidence of the attitude of Latin America, it may be added that the A. B. C. countries (Argentina, Bra-

zil and Chile) a few months ago signed a joint treaty, by which they have bound themselves, before resorting to war, to refer every possible difference which may arise between any of them, which they are unable to settle by direct negotiation, to an international court, or to a board of conciliation for examination and recommendation.

Throughout Latin America then in spite of the revolutionary outbreaks in its less advanced lands, and notwithstanding a certain amount of latent imperialism in one or two countries, there is a general agreement in the principle that international wars on this hemisphere should end, that existing boundaries should be respected, and that international differences should be settled by some form of arbitration or mediation.

A still further basis for American solidarity is found in the common interests of Latin America and the United States. Anyone doubtful of the reality of these interests should read the report of the recent Pan American Financial Congress, held in May, 1915, and note the earnestness with which the delegates of the strongest South American republics asked the United States to unite with them in carrying out enterprises which no one of their states was strong enough to accomplish by itself. They were particularly anxious that this country should coöperate in establishing adequate steamship communications, but they also issued urgent invitations to American capitalists to join with them in developing the resources of the Latin American countries. This community of interest is not limited to commerce and finance; it appears in the attitude of the Latin American republics as neutrals in the present world war. State after state has written or cabled its ambassador or minister in Washington to bring various matters of common neutral interest before the Pan American Council; as the director general of the Pan American Union recently said, the war has given a new significance and a new strength to Pan America. A short time after the war began both Argentina and Peru made proposals to the United States that all of the twenty-one American republics should unite in a definition of American neutral rights, and

should issue a declaration, as one of them specifically suggested, that no belligerent acts affecting neutrals should be permitted anywhere on the American side of the Atlantic. This fact is important in judging the sentiment of the Latin American republics, for it should be noted that this proposal of joint action was made not by the United States but by the Latin American countries themselves. Although our government did not see its way clear to adopt the proposals immediately, a committee of the Pan American Union has taken them under advisement; in the meantime the Latin American republics have been greatly influenced in their attitude towards the belligerent governments, and in their correspondence with them, by the diplomatic action taken by the United States.

Besides having many interests in common the Americas also are free from those causes of international conflict which have most frequently brought war to the old world. The rivalry for colonies, which has embroiled Europe from before the days of Columbus until the present, does not exist among us. The United States is the only American government which possesses colonies; Latin America does not covet them, and we ourselves are showing a nervous anxiety to be rid of our only colony of importance, the Philippines. The struggle for control of foreign markets in which to sell surplus manufactured goods, does not endanger our peace, as it has long endangered the peace of Europe; the present war, for example, was brought about, in no small measure, by the rivalry for economic control over Morocco, the Balkans, Turkey and Asia Minor. The United States is the only American republic which exports manufactured goods—the Latin Americans export raw products—and there is no competition among us on this score. America has no subject races, as has Europe; we have no Poland, no Macedonia, no Alsace-Lorraine. Finally we have no deepseated national and race antagonisms and hatreds, so common in the old world, and such a fundamental cause of war. If one travels in Europe there is no difficulty in distinguishing at once a typical German from a typical Frenchman, or a typical Englishman from a typical Turk; but only an expert can tell the difference be-

tween an Argentine and a Chilean, between a Peruvian and a Bolivian. In fact, there are no really fundamental differences between the Latin American peoples; nowhere on this hemisphere do we have deep-cut race distinctions, or hereditary national hatreds.

The American republics then have common interests, common forms and ideals of government, the common determination to settle international differences by arbitration and conciliation, and also, fortunately, are free from those factors which have most frequently plunged Europe in war.

It is only natural, under these circumstances, that a strong sentiment in favor of Pan Americanism has developed both in the United States and in the Latin American republics.

In our own country a policy of coöperation with Latin America has been favored in some form from the early days of the 19th century, when it was advocated by Henry Clay, several years before the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine. It was revived by James G. Blaine, who had the honor, as secretary of state, of presiding over the Pan American Congress held at Washington in 1889-90. Today it is endorsed, in some measure at least, by the national platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties. The strength of this Pan American sentiment, especially among thoughtful people in this country, is shown with especial clearness by the wide-spread conviction that our time-honored Monroe Doctrine should be given up as an exclusive policy of the United States, and be placed upon a Pan American basis, that is, made a common principle of all of the American republics. Ex-President Roosevelt has advocated this idea with his usual impetuousness and vigor; ex-President Taft has endorsed it with his usual moderation; while President Wilson states that although the Monroe Doctrine should be retained as a policy of the United States, it should be supplemented by a Pan American policy which should serve the same purpose. From the answers to a questionnaire which the writer sent out three years ago, it seems evident that a majority of the professors of inter-

national law and diplomacy in this country and a considerable proportion of our leading magazines and newspapers believe that the Monroe Doctrine should in some way be made Pan American.

If this change should be made Latin America would undoubtedly approve the Monroe Doctrine. What Latin America resents is the historically recent feature of guardianship, protection and overlordship. The original Monroe Doctrine, that is, the policy of preventing aggressions of European nations on this hemisphere, has their almost unanimous support. At the end of the magnificent Central Avenue of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, is the beautiful building erected for the sessions of the Pan American Congress of 1906; it was named the Monroe Palace, in particular honor of the President of the United States who enunciated this doctrine, and it retains the name to-day. This fact would be impossible if the leaders of Brazil entertained a thorough-going dislike of the Monroe Doctrine. A still clearer evidence of the attitude of Latin America is seen in the action of the delegates of the Latin American countries at the Pan American Congress in Buenos Aires in 1910. It was there proposed that the Latin American countries, since it was the centennial year of their independence, should join in sending a message of greeting to their elder sister in the north, and in this message should express their appreciation of the service which the Monroe Doctrine had rendered them during the hundred years of their independence. This proposal was accepted in principle by the delegates of all of the Latin American republics present; but when they attempted to word the message of greeting and appreciation in such a way that it would show their approval of the original Monroe Doctrine and yet not commit them to the later policy of guardianship and tutelage it was found too difficult a task and no message was sent. The fact remains however that the Latin American countries agreed not only to express their approval of the original, simple Monroe Doctrine, but to openly thank the United States for the service which that doctrine had been to them for a century.

This same favorable attitude towards the Monroe Doctrine in its original meaning, especially if made a joint policy with the other American republics, is seen in recent utterances of leading statesmen of South America. Not long ago the President of Chile declared his belief in a Monroe Doctrine made Pan American; and evidence from Chile is particularly valuable since in no Latin American country has there been greater resentment against the tutelage aspect of the doctrine than in this most nationalistic of South American Republics. The Chilean Ambassador at Washington, Dr. Eduardo Suarez, has explained this attitude more definitely; in his carefully prepared address before the Second Pan American Scientific Congress in December, 1915, he said:

The Monroe Doctrine might have seemed a threat so long as it was only a right and an obligation on the part of the United States. Generalized as a derivation from the Pan American policy, supported by all the republics in the continent as a common force and a common defence, it has become a solid tie of union, a guaranty, a bulwark for our democracies.

The President of Argentina also has rather recently paid a public tribute to the policy of Pan American coöperation.

In Latin America countries this increased interest in Pan American coöperation has been notable during the past three years. Their latent suspicion of the United States, which was greatly intensified by the seizure of Vera Cruz, was turned by the Niagara Conference, called in the spring of 1914 to mediate in the Mexican situation, into almost an enthusiasm for Pan America. The foremost daily of all South America, *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, exclaimed, "Blessed be Pan Americanism!" Some of the other leading journals of the A. B. C. countries have echoed this sentiment, declaring that Pan Americanism has now come to be an accomplished fact. These newspaper accounts have been substantiated by personal letters; from Chile an American acquaintance wrote, "Chilean opinion regarding the United States has made a complete revolution since the acceptance of the A. B. C. mediation, and now we are held in very high esteem." A distinguished statesman of South



America said to the writer, "The Niagara Conference has largely created a real Pan Americanism; it has made it actual; before this it was merely an ideal." The more recent coöperation between the United States and the six representative republics of South and Central America in an attempt to solve the Mexican situation has brought deep satisfaction to the peoples of Latin America. It may be that the action which they recommended, the recognition of Carranza, was not the wisest possible; but whether it was wise or unwise, this does not affect the fact that this coöperation produced a most fortunate impression throughout the Latin American world.

This Pan American sentiment probably reached its height at the Second Pan American Scientific Congress held at Washington a year ago this past December. The attitude of the United States was well expressed by the Secretary of State, who said in his address to the delegates:

Pan Americanism is an expression of the idea of internationalism. America has become the guardian of that idea, which will in the end rule the world. Pan Americanism is the most advanced as well as the most practical form of that idea. It has been made possible because of our geographical isolation, of our similar political institutions, and of our common conception of human rights.

Finally at the last day of the Congress the President of the United States, who had been keeping in close touch with the Pan American feeling shown among the delegates, definitely proposed a great League of American Republics to maintain peace on this hemisphere. He suggested that commissions should first be appointed to settle the boundary disputes which are so perplexing in many parts of South America and that the United States should then join with the other twenty American republics in a league which should guarantee to each country its independence and its territorial integrity. This proposal was well received at the Congress and since then has had the official endorsement of the presidents of two of the Central American states and probably—judging by personal statements from representative Latin Americans—has today the sup-

port of the best public opinion in every Latin American republic with the possible exception of Chile. The proposal is the most definite plan for the expression of Pan American solidarity which has yet been made. It is now being informally discussed among the leaders of the Central and South American countries and will undoubtedly be carefully considered at the next meeting of the Pan American Congress.

The attitude of the United States towards this kind of a league may be judged from the fact that the President of the United States, who is also the leader of one great political party, has proposed it; and that our last president, a leader of the opposing political party, has endorsed it. Mr. Taft says, "A league of nations in the western hemisphere would be a definite and, I think, a long step toward a league of nations in both hemispheres."

If we believe in the policy of Pan Americanism, whether carried out by a league or by a less definite system of co-operation, what should be done to develop and perfect this international principle, and what, it may be queried, are its limitations?

1. Keep the "big stick" policy on the shelf. We can not hold a club over our neighbors and, at the same time, coöperate with them as friends and equals.

2. Place the Monroe Doctrine upon a Pan American basis; make it the joint policy of the Americas, or, at least, cease regarding it as a policy of guardianship, tutelage and protection.

3. Do everything possible to make the peoples of these twenty-one American republics better acquainted with each other—with the best thought, ideals, and aspirations of each. Merely selling more goods to Latin America will not accomplish this. As an example of what we should try to do, there is the recent suggestion of a member of the Argentina government that the United States should appoint to the leading Latin American countries, instead of military and naval attachés, educational attachés to study and interpret the educational life and the culture of the other republics, and

to learn how the United States may best be of service to its southern neighbors.

4. Let the American republics develop and perfect an American League to Enforce Peace. But it should be understood that, while it is possible to have a league whose powers would be limited to giving to each of its members a joint guarantee of independence and territorial integrity, yet it is not possible to have a league with indefinite authority in which each state would have a single vote and in which a majority of the states could determine and control the common action of the Americas as a whole. The United States in population, wealth, trade and commerce is of more importance than all the other American republics combined. It would be absurd to attempt to form a league in which the five small Central American states might out-vote such countries as the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The American republics can agree to give each other certain definite guarantees, but they can not enter into a league to determine matters of general interest on the basis of equality of voting power.

5. Let us extend our trade with Latin America; but remember that the United States must stand for the "open door" on this hemisphere, just as it stands for the "open door" in the Orient. Let there be a fair field and no favors. If our business men, by energy, ability and organization, can extend our trade and commerce with Central and South America, so much the better; but if we attempt to shut the door against equal opportunity for the countries of Europe, by inducing the Latin American republics to discriminate against them by the erection of tariff barriers, or the withholding of concessions, we shall then be giving Europe a cordial invitation to unite in the overthrow of the Monroe Doctrine. In a volume on British foreign policy written before the war by Sir Harry Johnson, he said, in describing the things for which Great Britain should go to war, that it would probably even fight against the United States for one cause—an interference by the United States with the freedom of commerce and trade in Latin America. There seems unfortunately to be an idea among some in this country that

Pan Americanism means artificial advantages for the United States and a denial of the completely open door for Europe.

6. Let us coöperate whenever common problems arise. But the United States should realize that while the Latin American countries are willing and even eager to coöperate in the solution of most American problems, there is yet one field which they will not enter; they will not take part in any armed intervention in the internal affairs of any independent American republic. This attitude was made clear, if proof were needed, by the utterances of statesmen, by congressional debates and newspaper discussion throughout South America, a little over a year ago, just before the delegates of the United States and the six Latin American republics met in consultation over the Mexican situation.

It would be to the distinct present advantage of the United States to adopt a course of more complete coöperation with the other American republics. Such a policy would have given us, in all probability, a better solution of the Mexican problem. If at the time the Mexican revolution began to affect the interests of other lands, the President of the United States had laid the whole situation before representatives of the Latin American countries, and had stated that our government would deal with it as a common American problem and, after thorough consultation with them, had formulated a joint, all-American policy of action, this course would probably have preserved all that has been good in President Wilson's own Mexican policy and would have obviated all of its mistakes.

In the present war it would have been better had the United States joined with the other American republics to define and defend their common rights as neutrals. The Latin American countries, particularly Argentina, Chile and Brazil, have had the same problems that we have had; their rights have been infringed by both belligerents in the same way, especially by the submarine activity on the one side, and by the seizure of mails and the unjust application of the black list on the other. Efficient coöperation would

have been feasible, for the Latin American republics as individual states have taken practically the same attitude on questions of neutrality as has our own country.

Whenever the United States coöperates with Latin America it helps and furthers the policy of Pan Americanism. Whenever we coöperate in matters involving Europe, it gives our action greater strength. Whenever we coöperate in settling Pan American problems, it makes these problems easier of solution.

Taking a statesman's view and looking into the future, to the next few decades and even centuries, to a time when an increasing number of the Latin American republics will be strong, powerful, self-conscious states, it is clear that this new formula of coöperation is the only international salvation for the countries of this hemisphere; the only means of saving us from treading again the path of blood and war which Europe has trodden for two thousand years. The responsibility for developing our occasional Pan American coöperation into a definite system rests largely upon the United States, the strongest of the American republics. It is clearly then the part of American statesmanship to hold up as a national ideal a genuine coöperative Pan Americanism, to work for it, to make concessions for it, and, if necessary, to sacrifice minor issues to obtain it.

## THE HINDU IN CANADA

*By Sunder Singh, Editor of "The Aryan," Toronto, Canada*

The migration of peoples from one part of the world to another is always interesting and especially is this the case with the Hindus of India, who in the past settled in Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. The modern movements of these people constitute a story of absorbing importance. The fact that the Hindus have not emigrated to other parts of the world but have practically remained isolated and unto themselves gives the movement of the Sikhs to Canada its significance. The Hindus of recent years have moved in batches to South Africa, Australia, the British West Indies, the Straits Settlements, and the Far East. To all these countries they go generally from certain well-defined areas. One can almost point with a finger the particular locality on the map from which the emigrants go to these parts of the world. The Hindus who have come to Canada are mostly Sikhs. They are from the Punjab and from a few districts round about Lahore. The density of population there is more than one per acre. They depend almost entirely on agriculture. There are hardly any industries to speak of, and it is primarily because of the overcrowded state of agriculture that the Sikh, who is fond of fresh pastures, goes abroad.

The first Sikhs to see Canada, I have been told, were those returning to India after the Diamond Jubilee celebration in London. They saw the vast prairies of this great Dominion, which are not unlike the plains of the Punjab. There were the waving crops of wheat, which is raised so well in their own province. It was not till 1904 that a very small number of these hardy men crossed from Hongkong to Vancouver. At first when they came it was hard to get work, but as soon as they gained their way,

they found plenty to do. Their employers recommended these men to others for the hard-working and steady habits of the Sikhs. I have heard of the privations and hardships of these men when they came here first. One case I specially remember—a Sikh new-comer, who lived entirely on potatoes like our friends, the Irishmen, for quite a considerable period.

There was no organized effort on the part of the Sikhs coming to Canada. It was all spontaneous. These men wrote back to their friends in the Far East of the great opportunities for labor in the Dominion. In China and nearby countries there is always a steady stream of men from North India, who work as policemen, soldiers and in various other capacities. This class was the next to come. They came in small parties from Hongkong, Shanghai, Manchuria and the Straits Settlements. They were accustomed to British laws and institutions. Then came the peasant proprietors of the Punjab, who mortgaged the small pieces of land handed down by their ancestors, and who staked their all on the great venture.

It was in the years 1905 to 1908 that most of the Sikhs now domiciled in Canada landed in this country. They were tall and wiry men of fine physique. They came from a cold climate and were used to roughing it, as they say out West.

The Chinese were the first of the Oriental newcomers; the Japanese were next to follow; and the Sikhs came last of all. In 1907-08 there was a financial panic, and the results were spread far and wide. Work was hard to get, but the Sikhs, by their practical self-denial and helping each other, tided over the hard times. The Chinese, having a government of their own, are represented by consuls, who take care of their interests. The Japanese can protect their nationals abroad, as is known to all. But with the Sikhs it was otherwise. During the stringency a great agitation was set on foot against the Orientals. Racial prejudice and passions rose high. Riots occurred against the Chinese and Japanese in 1907, and I have been told of a very anxious night which the Sikhs spent in their

meeting house in Vancouver in 1908 when they heard rumors that this wave of fury and passion was to be let loose on them.

The Dominion Government, through a Royal Commission, paid compensation for damages to property and loss of business, and offered apologies to the Chinese and Japanese. The Hindus, who were British subjects, had come to British Columbia in 1907 in only one-third as many numbers as the Japanese, and many of them, according to evidence taken on oath, as a result of the immigration propaganda of certain Canadian interests.

But somehow a malicious agitation was started against our people. Mis-statements and misrepresentation became the order of the day. The idea seemed to be, when nothing else was on, to start a scare about the Hindu peril. Confidential agents went to British Columbia to look into the trouble on behalf of the government. Their reports were duly pigeon-holed. Why the authorities were so anxious about the Hindus nobody knew, and nothing was said about it. Sometimes it was said the climate was working havoc on the Sikh. At other times the ground of complaint was that the Hindus had no work. The Hindu like the rest of us, went on, heedless of the keen interest manifested on his behalf. When it was reported that the Sikhs were starving, and everybody was feeling the effect of hard times, the Hindus, in spite of prejudice, built a meeting-house worth \$7000 for the worship of God, the Father of all. How a starving people could do this is a wonder to me.

With the return of prosperity the feeling against the Japanese and Chinese died down. Each Chinaman coming to British Columbia contributed \$500 to the revenue, and behind the Japanese was a powerful government, in alliance with Britain. The prejudice of Asiatic races then became somewhat concentrated upon the Sikhs, for whom, in contrast with the other Asiatics, no government representative appeared at any of the official inquiries into the circumstances of Oriental immigration. In 1908 a scheme to take the Sikhs to British Honduras was started. A Mr. Harkin, representing the Ottawa government, went to



Vancouver, and, through another man, made overtures to the Sikhs, who, being naturally polite, wanted to investigate about the "promised land" as represented to them by their friends. Two representatives were sent by the Hindus of British Columbia to Honduras to look into the matter. They went there and found conditions not quite the same as they were said to be. On their return, these two men laid their report before the Hindu assembly, which was to the effect that the Sikhs who were going to be taken to Honduras were going there as indentured laborers, and thus were going to lose their liberty. The Hindus already in Honduras were in a pitiable condition. Indenture forms were ready to be signed for the men who were to go from Canada to Belize. Well has it been said, "Save us from our friends."

The officials also went to the Vancouver Sikh temple with these delegates, and were asked to come upstairs to the open meeting and address the assembly. The Sikhs think that the authorities used ways and means which the Sikhs had never heard of before. The Sikhs, being farmers and simple by nature, believed in British justice and fair play. They had never had the experience of a real game at politics. They saw through the whole thing and decided not to go to Honduras. During all this affair the Sikhs had the help and guidance of Prof. Teja Singh, M.A., LL.B. (Harvard), for whose services at this crisis in their history the Hindus can not be too grateful.

Many of the Sikhs in Canada had fought in the British India army and had thus shown by personal sacrifice and heroism that their citizenship in the Empire was not of talk alone, but was supported by deeds. As British subjects they had a status which no subtlety on the part of the politicians could destroy. Who can forget the Saragarhi episode and similar wonderful feats of valor on the Indian frontier? In the dark days of the Indian mutiny the Sikhs helped the British in India to the uttermost.

The Canadian government, chagrined at this failure of wholesale transferring of Hindus in Canada to British Honduras, fell back on another course of action. It was a policy

of petty persecution, at least so it appeared to the Sikhs. Anybody who spoke on behalf of the Sikhs was warned. Apparently the Sikhs were good enough to fight for the Empire, but when it came to claim for equal rights, our statesmen assumed grave faces.

The Sikhs, not knowing English, had to contend with many difficulties. They could not rent houses, and therefore had to live in tumbled-down shacks, or whatever shelter they could provide to keep out the rain and cold. By the end of the year 1908 there were about 4000 Hindus, all told, in Canada. They, like any other set of people, had come at first to find out about the "new land," and naturally, when they had found work, they wanted to get their families. In the meantime the question of Hindu immigration had assumed such proportions that the government had to formulate a policy. The Sikhs, on account of their hard labor, sober ways and frugal habits prospered. They bought land, live stock, farms, etc., and invested their hard-earned savings in this country, instead of sending it home to India. If that is a fault, we can claim our full share of it. These men from the Orient belong to an ancient civilized race, and have the shrewdness common to all men who till the soil. They made some shrewd investments, and made good. Now and again they were cheated out of their savings by unscrupulous "business" men, but they had to get this bitter experience.

The Ottawa government, to prevent the Japanese influx from Honolulu, passed an order-in-council requiring all immigrants coming to Canada to travel by a direct and continuous journey.

The government sent a special commissioner to England in 1908 to interview the Imperial authorities, and he had warned them, saying in his report that "It is within the power of a few individuals to create a situation not only prejudicial to the lives and fortunes of hundreds of well-meaning and innocent persons, but of grave concern to the British Empire itself." In spite of this serious admonition the continuous journey clause was applied in the case of the loyal Sikhs. Further immigration from India was

stopped, and the "No Hindu need apply" sign was put on the door of Canada, although the Japanese and Chinese came in their hundreds. The Sikhs, being British, became the objects of a subterfuge by which they were not to be admitted, except they had come on the same ship direct from India to Canada. We find that during the past five years only very few Hindus have come to the Dominion. So this order-in-council practically amounts to an exclusion of the Hindus.

Whilst this was going on, the Sikhs, before sending out for their families, wrote to Ottawa about the matter. They also consulted their friends in British Columbia and were advised of there being no legal barrier, for what human law can transcend God's law and sunder the husband from his wife and child? Still there were rumors afloat that the wives and children of the Sikhs would not be admitted if they came.

In the summer of 1911, a respected and well-to-do Hindu, Hira Singh, sent for his wife. She was ordered deported. Action was taken in the courts, and after some weeks' delay, she was allowed to remain, without the case having been tried. It was all done as "a matter of grace." The Hindus now realized their exact position, and whilst any foreigner—the Chinese and Japanese—could get his wife and child if he could afford it, and wanted to do so, no Hindu could do so except by a special "act of grace."

The Sikhs and their friends sent many petitions and resolutions asking for admission of their families, but it was to no purpose. When we appealed to the British Columbia government, they said the matter was in the hands of the Dominion government. So; in the fall of 1911, the Sikhs decided appealing directly to Caesar. They sent a deputation across the continent to Ottawa. They saw the minister of the interior, who is in charge of the Immigration Department, and had two interviews with him, on November 27 and 29. Through him also they had an interview with Premier Sir R. L. Borden, who said that their case would receive due consideration. The appeal of the Hindus was two-fold, and this is what it said:

As loyal British subjects, we come to press for redress for onerous restrictions that have gradually reduced our status as British subjects below that of the most unfavored nationalities of the Orient.

1. The restriction that most presses, and needs very immediate redress, is the prohibition by regulations that make it impossible for the wives and children of the Hindustanis residing in Canada joining them. The compulsory separation of families is punitive and in itself penal, and can only lawfully be applied to criminals by any civilized nation. It is contrary to every human instinct, and jeopardizes the existence of the family life, which is the very foundation of the British Empire as a whole. The regulation presses (contrary to all preconceived ideas of British justice and fair play) hardest on the weaker of the two parties concerned, namely, the mother and the child. There are no good political, economic or racial reasons why this regulation should not be abolished. But on the other hand, there are many cogent and weighty reasons, moral, economic and imperial, why it should be. There is not a mother in Canada, looking into the eyes of her child, who would not sanction its repeal. It is well to consider, from an imperial standpoint, the reflex action of this regulation on the Sikh communities of India, who are so closely united by the bonds of their religion, whether it fosters loyalty or otherwise. Any and all of the unfavored nations of the Orient may bring their wives; is it too much to expect or ask, that a British subject may also? For the honor and welfare of the Empire, we hope not.

2. The next immigration regulation which we ask you to consider, with a view to modification or repeal, is the continuous journey restriction. First, because no law or restriction has any force which is impossible to observe. Continuous journey, as now defined, is impossible. No other country asks its own subjects to do that which, from the very nature of the case, they can not. The thinking men of India and all who are directly or indirectly affected by this order-in-council fail to understand its application, where loyal subjects of the crown are concerned; as a method of total restriction that is another matter. But, on the other hand, we would ask you to consider, Is there any process of law or regulation that can be indirectly used to strip a loyal British subject of his inherent right to travel or reside in any part of the Empire? If not, then why this restriction? Our common Sovereigns, Their Majesties, have solemnly promised all subjects of the Empire, regardless of race, equality of treatment. We request also that you remove restrictions on students, merchants and tourists entering Canada, and that they may be placed on the same footing as other nationalities at least. In the very near future the granting of this last clause will prove most advantageous from a commercial standpoint.

As the deputation wanted an answer to their petition before their return, they had another interview with the

Hon. the Minister of the Interior, who, on December 15, 1911, said that the Dominion government had seen their way to grant the first part of their petition, viz., the admission of the families; but as regards the second clause, viz., the recognition of their status as British citizens, he said he would send a special investigator to the Pacific coast to look into the matter, and in due time they would hear from him on this point.

This pledge regarding the admission of families was flashed across the cables the same day, and there were rejoicings not only amongst the Hindus in British Columbia, but in far-away India as well, where His Majesty King George V was having the great Durbar at Delhi. The people in India realized that after all British justice and fair play had at last won the day.

No sooner had the deputation left Ottawa than the families of two prominent Sikhs of Vancouver, who had been waiting in Hong Kong for nearly a year, desiring admission to Canada, arrived at Vancouver in January, 1912. The immigration officials on the coast refused them landing, and ordered them deported. If ever there was a disillusion, here was one. The Sikhs, who had absolutely believed in the sacred pledge of a responsible minister of the crown, found that it was only a case of political expediency. They asked for bail, so that the families could be released pending trial. Legal machinery was set in motion. For several months the case dragged on, the government on various occasions stating it was not ready to proceed. Meanwhile our friends, the politicians, gave speeches, and various associations, through the kind and benevolent efforts, directly or indirectly, of these worthy people, passed resolutions barring the Sikhs' families. Finally, after delay, anxiety and heavy legal expenses, the two women and their children were allowed to remain, without a decision of the court being rendered. Here was another "act of grace." How many "acts of grace" were necessary before all the Hindus in Canada could get their families we leave it for the readers to determine. But it would require years and years, and no doubt infinite worry and anxiety. The

Sikhs thought, Why does not the government say plain yes or no, and have a definite law on the subject? They felt it to be futile to attempt to reunite families under such conditions, seeing that there was an attempted deportation as soon as they came, and in spite of the word of a minister of the crown.

As a result of the treatment received in Canada many Sikhs went back to India in disgust, leaving behind landed property to take care of itself. But others, who had gone to India after many years to visit their families and relatives, and who had many interests in Canada, wanted to return. They went to the transporation companies in Calcutta, who refused to book passages to Canada. They came to Hong Kong, and were kicked about from pillar to post in their search to come to a country where they had established business, and thus had their legal domicile in Canada. This was in 1911 and 1912, as the effect of the subterfuge in the regulation providing for a continuous journey by one ship (an impossibility under existing conditions). And furthermore, it was said that the steamship companies had private instructions not to book any Hindus to Canada.

As evidence of the sincerity of the Sikhs in meeting the government half-way in arriving at a reasonable solution of this matter, they, at considerable expense, sent three representatives to lay their case before the Imperial authorities in England. These three delegates, Nand Singh Sihra, Bhai Balwant Singh, and Narain Singh, left Vancouver for London early in 1913. On their arrival there they waited upon the secretary of state for the Colonies, who would not see them. So after some time spent in England, they went to India, where they laid their case before the various bodies of Sikhs and others. They also saw His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, who said in reply that the case of the Canadian Sikhs would receive proper consideration. At Christmas, 1913, this delegation appeared before the representative body of all India, the Indian National Congress, who, having heard the appeal, passed a resolution asking the government of India to have these disabilities removed.

In the fall of 1913 the Sikhs took legal steps to compel the steamship companies to sell tickets for their families. Being common carriers, they had to sell transportation when money is offered. And although the company involved in this case ran steamers to Calcutta, and, over and above that, had even brought some passengers to Canada, the learned judge did not see that way, and the Sikhs lost their case. In this connection it is well to point out here what the *Vancouver Province* said: that some of the Sikhs say that not only are they being made subjects of false charges in the local courts, but that their relatives in India are being similarly persecuted and victimized.

A Japanese company, unexpectedly entering the field, sold tickets in the fall of 1913, and two parties of Sikhs arrived at Victoria, B. C. They were not allowed to land, and their deportation was ordered. Their friends ashore instituted legal action and secured a landing of the first party; the procedure including a writ of habeas corpus. Chief Justice Hunter of the Supreme Court of British Columbia tried the case, and decided that the order-in-council and the immigration regulation under which the deportation had been ordered were ultra vires. The Sikhs, whose right had thus been vindicated, took their place in upbuilding of the province.

The second party arrived almost simultaneously with the chief justice's judgment, but the Immigration Department refused to acknowledge the decision of the Supreme Court, and again attempted deportation. Once more the Hindus were obliged to institute legal proceedings, including a further writ of habeas corpus. This time a second judge of the Supreme Court gave a decision similar to that of Chief Justice Hunter.

At great expense, therefore, the Sikhs, by subscription among themselves, had vindicated their right as British subjects; but all the evidence shows that discrimination against them was persisted in because they were British subjects. The financial burden thus gratuitously imposed upon them contrasted markedly with the compensation awarded the Japanese and Chinese under Royal Commis-

sion some years before—compensation which included allowance for loss of trade by Chinese opium manufacturers, against whom no deportation proceedings had been taken.

The Sikhs in British Columbia had been making representations to the Ottawa authorities regarding this invidious distinction against British subjects, but their cries were unheeded. Many of the returned Hindus had been waiting at Hongkong whilst these trials were going on in the British Columbia courts. The new Japanese steamship company, in order to avoid any further trouble with the powers that be, refused to book any more Hindus. But the decision of Chief Justice Hunter at last gave them justice and rights as British subjects. Taking it as their guide, the bolder amongst these men got together at Hong Kong and made up their minds to charter a steamer of their own. No doubt it required a lot of organization and a knowledge of Western business methods. They had some of their educated countrymen who wanted to come over and study in Canada. There were others who were merchants, and thus did not come under the immigrant class at all. And, last of all, there were the hardy Sikhs, farmers of the Punjab, inured to a cold climate, and who for the first time wanted to try their fortunes in the prairies of Canada. All this was in the early part of 1914.

No steps were taken by the government to set aside the decision of the Supreme Court; and no change worth while was made in the regulations. The two unchallenged decisions by the Supreme Court of a British country gave the Hindus absolute confidence that their right as British subjects would be respected, and that no longer would they be discriminated against in comparison with aliens from Japan, China, and elsewhere.

Acting on this, they chartered the *SS. Komagata Maru*, on a coöperative plan. The boat secured was a Japanese tramp steamer, which six months before had been purchased from a German company, and the Hong Kong agent for which happened to be a German. Incidentally, it is to be said that on this simple fact has been founded an allegation that the voyage of the *Komagata Maru* was part of a German



conspiracy against the British Empire. The boat was chartered in March, 1914, nearly five months before the outbreak of war. The accusation which has been made is baseless. For even in the report on the *Komagata Maru* presented by the commission appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy of India, the fact is stated that this German agent was paid his commission by the Sikhs. If the travelers had been German protégés surely their friends would not have been compelled to pay part of the cost of the charter, nor would they themselves have been turned adrift to starve in Japan on their return, whence they were finally taken to India at the initiative of the British consul, and at the expense of the taxpayers of India.

The British governor at Hong Kong, fearing that difficulty might be raised by the Canadian government, cabled a warning to Ottawa, and caused the vessel to be held while awaiting a reply. Receiving no answer for several days, the vessel left Hong Kong. In May, 1914, on the arrival at Vancouver of the *Komagata Maru* with 376 passengers on board, the immigration officials refused to allow any of the passengers to land, on the pretext of a medical examination—which lasted several weeks. Certain men who proved their domicile were permitted to come ashore after some delay; but as regards the rest, the immigration court of inquiry refused to give its decision in any one case till all had been tediously “investigated,” the avowed object being to wear out the patience of the Hindus, while preventing access to the courts.

The Sikhs on shore, besides paying \$15,000 to the steamer's owners, as the last payment of the charter money, subscribed funds to have the legal situation once more determined, and applied for a writ of habeas corpus, ordering witnesses to be produced in court. Their appeal to a judge of His Majesty's court of law, petitioning to probe the proceedings of the immigration officials, produced a decision which involved the amazing doctrine that, being representatives of the crown, they were not amenable to the court, and he refused to issue a writ of habeas corpus, which, for more than two centuries, has been the guarantee that every

British subject desiring to plead shall have his way to court cleared.

While this was going on, the member of Parliament for Vancouver constantly interfered, doing his best to inflame popular feeling, so as to influence the courts, and subordinate the course of justice to merely partisan and anti-Imperial considerations. On appeal, and during the inflammation of popular feeling, in which the member of Parliament openly used intimidatory language towards the courts, the decision of the court below was sustained.

There was now a conflict of the decisions, and the Sikhs desired to carry the case to the Privy Council, and offered to put up half a million dollars bail for the production of the men confined on the *Komagata Maru*. They wanted their exact status in the Empire properly settled. At every turn they were defeated. At this time one of the Hindus who had gone to Ottawa, at great personal trouble and expense, to lay the case before the Dominion government, asked for an impartial investigation of the whole case. He had interviews with the minister of the interior and the premier, but as a matter of course, was passed on to a minor official of the department. Exclusion at all hazards to the Empire was announced by the local politicians as the policy of the Dominion government.

Here is the story of the *Komagata Maru*, as given by a well-known Canadian lady, Mrs. Anna Ross:

One would think that the decent way for the authorities to act toward these men on the *Komagata Maru*, who had so accommodated themselves to the Canadian rule, would be to receive them politely, and to deal with each case fairly and squarely according to law, passing those eligible, and rejecting non eligibles. Then if the will of the Canadian people was still for shutting the door, to do so by straight statute, "No Hindu need apply." After that there would at least be no misunderstanding or disappointments.

But these men who had accommodated themselves to the Canadian rule, who at a cost to themselves of nearly \$57,000 had come by one continuous route, who now politely asked admission as British subjects and expected it, received instead indignity after indignity. It is almost inconceivable the lengths of which official insolence went in the treatment of these strong, proud, independent men. They were not allowed to set foot on

shore at all. They were not allowed to communicate with the Sikhs on shore at all. They were not allowed to communicate with their own lawyer. Even when their case for admission was in court, their lawyer, Mr. Bird, was not allowed a personal interview with any of them, so that he was conducting their case in the dark. After the case was decided under these circumstances against them, Mr. Bird was allowed to visit them, and discovered that very important elements in the case he had not understood at all, and had not presented. If this is Canadian justice, it is not British justice.

When the case had been decided against them they expressed their willingness to leave, only requesting that they should be supplied with provisions for the return voyage. The immigration authorities refused provisions, but tried to compel the captain of the ship to sail at once. Though they had been unnecessarily delayed by the authorities for six weeks, these officials endeavored to force them to commence their long voyage without provisions. This roused the man and the soldier in these Sikhs, and they prevented the captain from obeying. A hundred and seventy-five policemen and the stream from a fire hose only roused them the more. They beat back the policemen with fire-bricks and lumps of coal. Then in the dignity of her might Canada ordered the cruiser *Rainbow* to proceed alongside the *Komagata Maru* and compel submission. By this time the inhuman attempt to send 350 men across the Pacific starving had been abandoned, and offers of abundant provisions were made. But by this time the fighting blood of the Sikhs was up. They knew they had been barbarously treated by representatives of the Canadian government, and they were resolved to put no trust in any offers now made to them, but just to fight and die, if need be.

That was the position Canada found herself in July 22, 1914. The guns of the *Rainbow* were trained on the little *Komagata Maru*. The Sikhs on board her had used timber to construct barricades, and the blacksmiths among them were working at fever heat making swords and pikes. The Government then in extremity sought the good offices of the Sikhs on shore, and though they had refused to allow them intercourse with the men on the *Komagata Maru* before, they were now glad to have a deputation of shore Sikhs endeavor to convince them that the government this time was really acting in good faith, to accept the offers of provisions, and leave. They were finally successful, and the little ship sailed away.

It is a sad story. It is a shameful story. They could at least have been treated courteously and given a chance to plead their own cause fairly, even if the law had refused them admission in the end.

It may be well to mention here that the degradation of British prestige by demagoguery assuming the functions of

authority, was made shamefully apparent to other nations. During the trouble several Japanese cruisers appeared, and the politicians appealed to Ottawa to request that foreign crews should board a vessel in a British harbor, subdue by arms British passengers, and forcibly escort them across the ocean. What transpired in this connection, we know not; but the whole thing is so singular that I am sometimes tempted to think that only an Oriental mind can grasp the effect produced on the shrewd, diplomatic Japanese nation of this attempt on the part of our esteemed friends, the politicians. I am sure I shall be forgiven for calling attention to this matter, for my excuse is that native-born members of the Empire in Asia have a stake in its standing among the Asiatic peoples, even though in British Columbia neither education, nor property, nor medals won by valor for the Empire, can procure a Hindu a vote, though two Hindus have sat in the Imperial House of Commons.

Of the plight of the men on board the *Komagata Maru*, their enforced confinement within a vessel for months, and the inevitable effect of the news in India, I do not now speak. But it is not to be denied that politicians and their minions usurped the essential authority of the law, and caused British subjects on a vessel in a British harbor to be treated as none has been treated with impunity within sight of a British shore since the slave trade was suppressed.

In this connection it is well to mention here that the government had passed an order-in-council prohibiting the entry to British Columbia of immigrants of the laboring classes. They knew very well if European immigrants were to come to British Columbia they would not try to enter it through British Columbia ports, but by ports on the Atlantic coast. In all legislation there is a principle of equity and justice, and laws have to be made in such a way that people can, under ordinary circumstances, fulfil them. Whilst the *Komagata Maru* was lying off Vancouver harbor, the British subjects on board her had the mortification of seeing over five hundred Chinamen land without a hindrance raised. I make no invidious comparison between them and my own countrymen, but will quote from the

exclusionist *Victoria* (B. C.) *Times'* account of the *Komagata Maru* passengers on the day of their arrival:

When the *Times'* launch slipped alongside the steamship the men were lined along the bulwarks of the forward and after wells. They presented a very brilliant spectacle as the many different colored turbans moved quickly and silently about. The men were dressed in various colors. There were some in complete European outfits, others wearing riding breeches and helmets, numbers with Mohammedan red caps pressed tightly down on their thick black hair, still others in native costumes, and a few wearing khaki uniforms, which they had used when serving in the army.

The majority of the men have served in the British army, and they are a tall and handsome lot. They seem superior to the class of Hindus which have already come to this province. They stand very erect and move with an alert action. All their suits were well pressed and their turbans spotlessly clean. The most of them know a little of the English language, and some of them converse in it remarkably well. Of the 376 who comprise the party, but 21 have been in Canada before. In the party are students, merchants . . . in fact represent every class in India.

As showing the spirit which governed the treatment of these men in the name of the Canadian people, I may quote further:

This morning a party of local Hindus left here in a launch and attempted to go alongside the *Komagata Maru*. Rev. Mr. Hall was in the craft. Their intentions were not stated. The patrol boat overhauled the intruders, and a severe reprimand was given them by Dr. Milne, the immigration agent. None of the Hindus is desirous of making his escape. They all wish to go through with the matter in a perfectly open manner.

Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Grace last summer wrote regarding the Sikhs to a church paper:

Your last issue referring to the *Komagata Maru* incident says: "Gurdit Singh can now write: 'Veni, vidi, nonvici'—almost Caesar." Permit me to say that it is a deep and disturbing conviction that he can quote Caesar exactly. He got what he wanted. Those whom he represented cared nothing for the poor men who hoped to enter the fair Dominion. But they did want to force Canada to a clearly defined position.

Thus far Canada has contented herself with indirect methods of exclusion. None of the three orders-in-council which discriminate against the Hindu mention him. But they accomplish

the work of exclusion just the same. Now, however, Canada has come out plainly—with troops and warship. The time-expired soldiers in the ships' company were given indisputable evidence of the lengths Canada would go to keep them out. Why tarry longer? He got what he came for. Imperial and Christian considerations alike should have made this affair impossible. But there was dominant the little Canada spirit. It is splendid, now, to come to the aid of the Motherland. Our brave men and our shiploads of flour mean much in this hour of need. But it would mean vastly more to the Empire if the *Komagata Maru* incident could be obliterated. Instead, it is a living, growing, disintegrating force.

But they (the Hindus) are declared "undesirable"—a cruelly suggestive description, because positive, yet vague. It seems strange that the government of British Columbia is so earnest in its effort to purge the land of these men, when we remember the last report of the Social and Moral Reform League. In this report we are told that vice in British Columbia is protected by the government, and reform measures opposed bitterly. Yet those who know the Hindus best testify to the fact that there is surprisingly little criminality among them.

It is said that they will not assimilate. I have watched with wonder and delight the process of assimilation. Given fair conditions and they do adapt themselves rapidly. Their eagerness to learn, to fit into the new order, was to me surprising, as I watched them in California. After knowing such types in India, it was a surprise to watch especially the psychological process of assimilation. A few positive results mean much more than scores of negative results. If they are not assimilating, the un-Christian atmosphere in which they live must explain it.

Never have I seen such opportunities of helping India as amongst her lonely sons on the Pacific coast. They were eager to learn, respectful and earnest. But times are changing, and the un-Christian attitude of our land is fixing a wide—may it not prove an impassable!—gulf between Canada and India.

That racial prejudice and passion let loose on the coast in the summer of 1914 was altogether overdone is the opinion of competent people. They say there is already a reaction. A well-known Canadian, in the course of a recent letter to the writer, says:

I am quite free to inform you that in my opinion the treatment of the East Indians in the province of British Columbia has not been of the best, and the Federal authorities, without question in my mind, have never understood the situation, nor have they tried to understand the people themselves. This is to be accounted for from the fact that the officials who were in the various departments of the Government are in my opinion (and I

say without any hesitation) incompetent, and also have made no effort to understand the people, but have assumed a good many things to be true that are not true.

How far the incompetency enters into the case the writer is not prepared to state, but he leaves it for the readers to decide the matter. He lays before the public this opinion for what it is worth.

Another friend from Vancouver writes especially regarding the *Komagata Maru*:

I feel that the effect of the inhuman treatment that was accorded the Hindus by the Canadian authorities is going to have a far-reaching effect. The Singapore incidents and the other troubles in India are, I believe, the direct outcome of the unfortunate episode. I am of the opinion that the Sikhs came to Vancouver really believing that the doors of Canada were wide open for their entry, after the decision of the chief justice in the Narain Singh case. . . . I blame Mr. H. H. Stevens for all this unfortunate episode. Nothing could exceed the tenacity with which he fought the affair.

Mr. Stevens, is the member of Parliament for Vancouver in the Dominion House of Commons.

The *Komagata Maru* has left unpleasant results as the three conspiracy trials in Lahore, India, the last of which was decided only this month. Its effects have been seen in the Mandalay case and elsewhere. This ship will go down in history like the other famous ship which came to Boston laden with tea.

I may here state the great ability of the Sikhs in adapting themselves to the conditions in Canada, which were new to them. How, not knowing the language, they started night schools for learning English. Many have gone back to India and have been zealous in providing education for the boys and girls in the villages by starting schools. In one notable case they have sent more than \$15,000 and started an excellent high school in the Punjab. The writer knows the case of a young Hindu, eighteen years of age, who by his pluck and industry is supporting himself and acquiring English in a high school and thus fitting himself for better service. Not only have the Sikhs in Canada helped in starting schools for their children, know-

ing full well the difficulties they had to contend with on account of their not having the opportunity, but they have also helped in giving to the villagers and stay-at-homes in India some idea of the great Western world. As a matter of fact the returned emigrants have except in rare instances shown genuine desire for reform, and thus served as vehicles for carrying western civilization to these out of the way and remote villages. Some have taken with them to India agricultural machinery and implements, and are thus fitting themselves to be better farmers.

In 1908 they started a colonization company on a coöperative plan. With that end in view two hundred acres were bought near Vancouver, where the Sikhs out of employment could get work, but of late years things have improved, and they have had all the work they wanted.

Many of them have bought land and put up houses here. Their holdings in land, houses, live stock (as many of them have quite a few dairy cattle), horses and wagons, etc., amount to at least \$2,000,000. I have heard white grocers and others say that they would trust a Sikh and continue doing business with him, as over and over again it has happened that after being in debt for one or two years he will come and pay his debts to the grocer and storekeeper. There are no paupers amongst the Sikhs, as their system of practical self-help insures that those who have been unfortunate in being out of work, or on account of some accident, are duly cared for by the well-to-do members of the community. They have put up considerable sums to help the weaker brethren in divers ways. The Hindus have spent over \$250,000 in their struggle for justice.

And this reminds me of the case of nearly ninety Hindus who were held up by the authorities at the port of Seattle, Washington, and ordered to be deported until each of them put up a security of \$500 cash. To show the Hindus' self-help their friends in British Columbia, with great generosity characteristic of them, supplied the forthcoming money to the tune of nearly \$50,000 and had these men released on bail in the fall of 1913. In addition to this the



Sikhs have built temples in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster and Abbotsford, all in British Columbia. The one at Victoria cost over \$10,000. These are open to the public.

Speaking about the Hindus Mr. W. W. Baer, a well-known Canadian journalist, said:

I could print a hundred letters telling me of the faithfulness of the Hindu in his service to his employer; the reliance that may be safely placed upon him at his work, and his unshrinking application of his strength to his varied tasks. Altogether my opinion is, that of the several racial types who have crossed the Pacific Ocean to participate in our great toil of reducing this Western province to its final productive power, the Hindu is the most desirable.

And now a few words about the Sikhs will be useful. What are they? The Sikhs come from the Punjab in North India. As there was a Reformation in Europe, so there was one in India, and about the same time, viz., in the fifteenth century. A great teacher or Guru by the name of Baba Nanak was born in a village near Lahore. He taught the unity of all religions, the brotherhood of man, raising the outcasts and abolition of the caste system, equality of sexes in divine worship, and doing away with idol worship. Nanak wanted all races and sects to unite in the spirit of service. The Sikh worship is very democratic, and the spirit of self-sacrifice is the dominant characteristic. He taught belief in One God, the Father of all. This pure teaching could not but reform the whole Hindu social system. All his followers were known as Sikhs or disciples. There were nine more teachers, the last of whom was Guru Govind Singh, who in order to protect the religious brotherhood from bigotry within the Hindu system, and persecution from without from the authorities of the day, organized the Sikhs into a strong militant body known as the Khalsa, or the Elect Fellowship. He instituted the Khanda di pahul or baptism of the sword, whereby a Sikh became a member of the great Khalsa brotherhood for help of the weak, the fallen and the oppressed. Moreover Sikhs are farmers, a kind of people which a young country especially needs in her development.

In face of the high ideals of Sikhs especially, it is surprising when a Canadian member of Parliament gives out a challenge that Hindu civilization has done nothing to uplift the other races of the world, and has produced nothing. That is a libel upon a whole nation, and, leaving aside what India has stood for in the past, we point to the most recent example, Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet, who in 1913 won the Nobel Prize in literature.

Speaking about Tagore. Miss Gertrude V. Jamieson who saw him in Seattle, Washington, in September, 1916, asked him if he would visit Canada, and he said most emphatically "No!" He would never visit Canada on account of the manner in which his countrymen had been treated by the Canadians. He said he had been invited to both Toronto and Montreal, but refused to go, and he wishes this published and generally known. He said he was asked to go ashore at Victoria, British Columbia, but refused. He said he would never set foot on Canadian soil or that of Australia, while his countrymen were treated as they were. He said, of course, things would not change until the psychology of nations was changed.

Regarding the equal status of Hindus and other British subjects the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is quite emphatic and clear. It reads:

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects. . . .

This is truly called the Magna Charta of the Indian people. To the Hindus it has not been a mere "scrap of paper." In spite of this the Sikhs in Canada have not even fared as well as the Chinese and Japanese. Whilst from 1908 to 1914, during 6 years, 28,525 Chinese, and during the same interval 3548 Japanese entered Canada, only 117 Hindus were allowed to enter the Dominion. Each Chinaman on admission has to pay a tax of \$500. Who pays this tax is quite a different story. A Japanese has only to show \$50 in his possession when landing in Canada, a Sikh must have \$200,000. All this is not in the spirit of the Queen's proclamation.

The Hindus believe the Great War which ought to be really called the Great Change will help in solving this question as a writer said in a letter to the *Toronto Globe*:

This great episode in human history does not throw primarily upon us the necessity to appeal for a hearing from you, our fellow-subjects. We could be excused for waiting till the bloodshed is ended, and to leave it to you to make the next move. But we think more of what is involved in this matter than some of the politicians do, to whom India is a sealed and mysterious book, even when they talk about the Empire, three-fourths of whose population is in that country. So we are willing to make the first advances, even to the extent of appealing for a hearing in places where men and women gather together. . . .

Believe me, this is of deep Imperial significance, and our people will be greatly disappointed if Canada will not meet us half-way in settling the difficulties which have hitherto beset our relationships as fellow-subjects in the Empire.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

**The Negro Year Book.** Edited by MONROE N. WORK of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

For the past four years The Negro Year Book Publishing Company at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama, has issued from the press an annual volume under the title *Negro Year Book*. The editor of this annual publication is Monroe N. Work and associated with him, as president and treasurer of the company, are the well known racial authorities and acknowledged leaders, Robert E. Park and Emmett J. Scott. This *Year Book* has grown in size, scope and quality of subject matter until it is perhaps the most encyclopedic and significant current publication in the United States on the history, progress and present status of the Negroic peoples.

The volume for 1916-17, with nearly 500 pages, surpasses any preceding number, and as a popular reference work, is substantially without a rival. Aside from an amazing amount of data in compact form on the Progress of the Race in Fifty Years, Distribution of Negro Population, the History of Slavery, the Abolition Movement, Emancipation, Civil Rights and Status of the Negro as a Soldier, Religious Development, Educational Achievements, the Negro in the Fine Arts and Invention, in Agriculture, Business and Social Uplift, the latest issue is enriched by contributions and illuminating discussions on the Economic Influence of Prejudice upon the Negro, Southern Whites and Negro Cooperation for Social Betterment, the Negro and Temperance, Improvement in Rural Negro Education, Black Troops in the European War, Race Problem in South Africa, the Negro in Literature and Scholarship, and a number of other subjects of equal importance and general interest to the country and the student of interracial behavior and phenomena. With brief statements on present conditions in Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and Santo Domingo this volume makes a still wider appeal to all those who wish to secure information concerning and a general view of the situation where the Negro participates in or controls the government.

Aside from the foregoing the volume begins with a very notable list of recent high-grade works on *The Negro and His Problems* by the Neale Publishing Company of New York, a publishing company which has done more to present all sides of Negro life in Africa as well as in America in the highest literary form, than perhaps any publishing house in the United States. It concludes with 16 pages of index and with one of the most extended and comprehensive bibliographies on the Negro to be found anywhere in the literature of the race. With lists of the Negro newspapers, persons prominent in business, the officers and addresses of Negro organizations of national prominence, religious as well as secular, and the names of so many Negroes with some distinction in education, the professions, literature, art and science, the *Negro Year Book* is crowded with so much up-to-date information and data on Negro thought and life, that when we consider the small price at which it is sold, we are of the opinion that it should render a very practical and educational service in the life of the nation, whether viewed from the standpoint of the man in business, in education or of the more general reading public, both white and black.

The drift of the Negro population for sometime has gradually shifted northward. The reduction of immigration, consequent upon the European war, has accelerated that movement considerably during the past year. This movement has become so important that Northern communities have begun to consider the possible effects of increasing their colored neighbors. In this connection the *Negro Year Book* is valuable. In the *Chicago Daily News*, a great American metropolitan paper, beginning about the middle of December, A.D. 1916, Junius B. Wood, a high staff correspondent, has been contributing a series of articles upon the Negro, which are receiving wide and deep consideration. Mr. Wood, while dealing chiefly with the Negro in Chicago, yet has had occasion to refer to the *Negro Year Book* as his guide and authority for data and facts.

GEORGE W. ELLIS.



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VOLUME 7

NUMBER 4

# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

APRIL 1917

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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

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## MOBILISING THE GERMAN MIND

*By Charles Edward Lyon, Ph.D., Professor of German,  
Clark College*

In gathering together the very extensive library of war literature the Clark University authorities have wisely given their foreign purchasing agents a free hand. While this may mean that a great many books of little merit may find a place on the shelves, at the same time it makes it possible to obtain some of the books that will be exceedingly hard to find after the war. Then again, all is grist that comes to the psychologist's mill, so that no pamphlet, however brief, is insignificant, if only it be the output of a mind working at the white heat that the war produces. Shrewd reading between the lines of such a pamphlet is apt to reveal more than many a volume of denatured chronicle of war.

It is especially fortunate that the German shipments are large. The French and the British character are fairly patent to the American; their *Weltanschauung* and their reflexes are enough like our own to prevent them from seeming complex. As regards the German, we might have ventured a few years ago to believe that we had partaken very liberally of German culture, that is, of Schiller's idealism, of Goethe's broader humanity, of Kant's deep concept of duty, and had seasoned our repast sufficiently with Heine's sprightliness to prevent the repast from becoming insipid through the sugar and watery dilution of sentimentality and romanticism, in other words, that we had read, marked and learned German until it had become fully digested and had made its due contribution to our own *Weltanschauung*. So we might have thought until the



war came and brought with it the discovery, in the realms of thought, of whole continents like Nietzsche and Treitschke, of insular Chamberlains and Bernhardis and numberless Rivers of Doubt and other uncharted waters. These unexplored recesses of the German mind have now become revealed—and yet he would indeed be a self-confident person who would declare that he is not considerably perplexed to account for most of the German reactions, either as a nation or as individuals, to the stimulus that the war has provided.

I am aware that just now the great mass of Americans will be disinclined to read further, inasmuch as they feel competent to account for the German in the words of the Psalmist: "They have done abominable works; there is none that doeth good among them, no, not one." Regardless of the fact that a whole nation cannot be thus covered with a blanket indictment, it is still worth while to push this investigation further, if only for the intellectual satisfaction of having come somewhat nearer the truth of the situation. There can be nothing definitive about such a study, of course, as too little of the evidence is at hand. But inasmuch as it is my object to make a sort of empirical study of the mobilisation of the German mind, from a narrow range of observation, without any warrant for the exactitude of the study or its wider validity, it is important to examine whatever material we have at this stage of the war, just as the experimenter in the laboratory must take readings of the thermometer at all stages of his experiment.

The Ante-bellum German has now been so exhaustively written up, both by friend and foe, that nothing new remains to be said. There is something grimly humorous about the eleventh-hour revision which some of the Teuton's opponents had to make in their estimate of his character—an estimate that had its sources in the Pumpernickel and Teufelsdröckh conceptions, in the idyllic days of the Prince Consort, and which continued throughout the commonplace and highly moral Victorian age, even beyond the days of Bismarck's insolence to "the English-woman," the Empress Frederick. Perhaps Carlyle's en-

thusiasm over "noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany, welded into a nation" which should some day "become queen of the continent" was regarded as hero-worship rather than prophecy. Then on the other hand, taking the ante-bellum estimate of his character as conceived by the German himself, there is something more than grimly humorous, rather something sardonic and tragic in the way that this master-mechanic of the mind fashioned a creature of the mind so perfectly coördinated and articulated that it actually came to life and turned on its maker to rend him. It is as if the German Pygmalion had fashioned a soldier instead of a lovely woman and then Mars instead of Aphrodite had brought it to life. Or rather it reminds one of the scene in "Faust" wherein the whimpering poodle that Faust had befriended was suddenly transformed into the leering shape of the devil himself. And so in 1914 it required only the spell of the magic word "mobilise" to convert the simple peasant Michel, with his scythe, into the semblance of Michael the archangel, equipped with a sword of flame to attack Lucifer and his fellow evil-doers (to quote the interpretation of *Das Buch Michael*, a book recording the reactions of German children to the war).

The assembling of the German army in August, 1914, was without question the most marvelous "stunt" of the sort ever witnessed. It amazed even the German stay-at-homes, to judge from the constant references in the war pamphlets to the clock-like precision with which this huge mechanical toy began to operate. Few realized, as the last Pickelhaube disappeared in the direction of the Rhine or the Vistula, that another and equally marvelous mobilisation, that of the German mind, got under way. The authorities could have had but few qualms lest the mechanical side of the performance run off smoothly; but their fervent and oft-repeated thanks that all Germany is united in its support of the Fatherland betray to the initiated the anxiety and the misgivings with which officials looked forward to the working-out of the far more difficult and delicate half of their program. "Out of sight, out of

mind" would mean ruin; "flaming enthusiasm," they said, "would mean success." Looking at the matter neutrally and leaving moral considerations aside, their performance was a most impressive one, one that repays study, even with the rather meagre data at hand. I shall try to outline the share of the poet, the professor and the preacher in this mobilisation of the German mind.

*The poet's share.* Apparently it is a principle of German literary production that the value of the output varies inversely with the welfare of the state. The glorious classic period of Herder, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe hardly got under way during the triumphant years of Frederick the Great but reached its height just at the time that Prussia was in her deepest degradation under the heel of Napoleon. Again, at the height of Bismarck's influence, the German arts, particularly the theater, reached an apallingly low ebb. But Bismarck's dismissal was coincident with the emergence of the new school of Naturalism headed by Hauptmann and Sudermann. While these two have never fulfilled their early promise, they inspired such a great number of poets, at about the turn of the century, that the German critics began to acclaim a new school of Classicism. Since about 1905 there has been much to warrant these high hopes. Hauptmann's *Bow of Odysseus* may not rank very high as a classic but the spirit behind the work is very significant. The author has longed for Greece as ardently as Goethe for Italy. He says in *Grecian Spring-time* (1907): "Never has there come from the earth a force, a charm like unto that which fills me with such rapture here." The spirit behind these words, the same that has animated some of the best writing of Friedrich Lienhard and Hofmannsthal, is the same humane, cosmopolitan spirit that was back of the earlier classic period. A quotation from Lessing is in point: "The praise of a zealous patriot is the last which, according to my way of thinking, I should desire to win; a patriot, that is, who should teach me to forget that I ought to be a citizen of the world." (From a letter to the poet Gleim.) "They are but Goths that know not Goethe," said Schiller. Such cosmopolitanism is any-

thing but conducive of patriotism. Literary schools in Germany have a semi-official character. Prizes are bestowed, with the approval of the emperor, upon those who are adjudged to have done the most for the cause of German letters; royal favors of other kinds are conferred upon those whose literary effusions redound to the greater glory of the State. Naturally, then, a classic revival, with its broad, cosmopolitan, politically neutral spirit would not find the atmosphere of Berlin very congenial. Hence it is that many of the leaders formulated the slogans that led many minor poets to rally to them: "Los von Berlin!" "Mehr Goethe," "Wege nach Weimar," "Wo Lärm ist, da kehr' um!" At the outbreak of the war, seven out of nine of the most prominent literary journals were published elsewhere than in the capital. Further evidence of the waning influence of Berlin might be seen in the "Heimatkunst" movement among the literary cliques, a "back home" movement that might seem patriotic enough to the Bavarian or Swabian but which must have impressed some Prussians as parochial.

Then came another trend, a later and more powerful one, that ran directly counter to the decentralizing tendencies. Prince von Bülow says it was found necessary in the ten years following Bismarck to harp on the string of Nationalism. In the last decade before the war this "harping" has been taken up by the whole orchestra. A great deal has been made of anniversaries, in particular of the centenaries of political events and patriotic authors. The centenary of Schiller's death, in 1905, brought out an enormous literature that naturally emphasized the patriotic note. "Wilhelm Tell" was performed 412 times that year throughout the Empire. At the Kleist centenary in 1911 ample amends were made for the slight esteem in which his contemporaries had held him. Again the dominant note was the patriotic one, only somewhat more in keeping with the times, inasmuch as Kleist was a most intense Prussian, almost the official apologist of the Hohenzollern house. "Down with all enemies of Brandenburg!" the last line of his "Prinz von Homburg," offset in six

words much of the dreamy New Idealism defined by one of its devotees as the "harmonious expression of ideals, guided rather by thought than feeling and expressive of symmetry, repose and concentration."

This New Idealism was beginning to "lose out," the minds of Germans were already beginning to mobilise. The armed neutrality stage was reached in the 1913 celebration of the centenary of the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig. The literary expression of this fateful occasion was entrusted to Gerhart Hauptmann. His cue was evident enough. When he ignored it and chose rather to portray Blücher and Scharnhorst as human beings and Frederick William III as a decidedly weak individual, the storm broke. The Crown Prince, royal patron of the Festspiel, withdrew it from the stage after one performance. A little later Hauptmann drew another storm upon himself when he ventured to revise Schiller's "Tell." It became manifest that the public now regarded the original text as plenary inspiration, that the bold words of defiance in the mouths of the mediaeval Swiss were no longer classified as mere literature but had been transmuted into a state policy. The mental preparedness was almost complete; only one thing more was needed, that the will-to-fight be given direction, a tangible objective. It was at this point that the "perfidious Albion" motif, so often sounded on Treitschke's clarion trumpet, was taken up fortissimo by the brasses and kettle-drums of the professorial orchestra. To indicate the part played by the critic, I quote from a *History of Nineteenth Century Literature* by Professor Meyer of the University of Berlin:

There is nothing of much importance just now in English drama except for the work of Bernard Shaw. And Shaw's plays are built up on French technique, pieced out with epigrams and aphorisms from German sources. The English have let the drama become atrophied rather than rejuvenate it; German predominance in this field is unquestionable. . . . In German novels the characters evolve, expand; they are not lay-figures for superficial, conventional treatment, as is the case in *Pride and Prejudice*, accounted by many Englishmen to be their best novel. Goethe wrote the first modern novel and the Germans still hold the lead. . . . But it is in the field of poetry

that the superiority of the Germans is most conspicuous. For they are the only nation that comprehends the changed relation of the poet to his theme and to his public. English poetry is written by gentlemen for the delectation of gentlemen if he transgresses the laws of propriety in verse a poet forfeits his rating, even though he be George Noel Lord Byron. The Germans appreciate poetry more than other nations; Byron, Burns, Béranger Verlaine, Verhaeren find more ardent admirers here than in their own countries. . . . Taken altogether, no literature is of so nearly world-calibre as the German. . . . English literature is the only islet of the old conservatism not submerged by the deluge of progressive modernism. Oscar Wilde, using literature as a stepping-stone to social recognition, is typical. Walter Scott was the only Britisher to reach the common man. German lyric poetry is lyric and musical; English poetry just the opposite. To be sure, Burns, Keats, Tennyson and Swinburne are musical but Burns is Scotch and the others are cosmopolitan and not typically English. Hardness of heart and stupid insularity are dominant English characteristics. I do not believe that another such instance of utter lack of appreciation of cultural values exists as that evidenced in their attitude toward German literature. They prefer to remain ignorant, but they will not be able to hold out long, for their civilization is in process of a readjustment that brings it constantly nearer our own.

This appeared in 1913 while the celebration of the defeat of Napoleon was at its height. At the same time the publishers flooded the market with popular illustrated booklets of the *Freiheitsjahr*, anthologies of patriotic poetry, and selections from the writings of Fichte, Kleist and other heroes of a century ago. While the purport of these booklets was in all probability honest enough, their effect was merely to add fuel to the flames kindled by the Pan-German doctrine and by the critical situation in the diplomatic world.

The order "mohil machen" threw the German mind at once into fever heat. The poets and pamphleteers mobilised by the million, armed with fountain-pens, a weapon of the mobilisation period far mightier than the officer's sword. In his keynote speech of August 1 the emperor declared that the other nations were plotting against Germany, that the fight was a purely defensive one for the Fatherland and that ultimate victory would crown their efforts, provided all were united. In other words, he directly implied that the conditions that had once resulted,

through German unanimity, in the glorious year of Freedom, 1813, the memory of which had so thrilled German hearts and minds in the last twelvemonth, were now once more confronting them all. The resultant solidarity and religious exaltation showed that the emperor was a master of the principles of mob-psychology. A deluge of poems and pamphlets followed the speech. Julius Bab, one of the most prominent critics, estimates that between August and February one and a half million poems were turned out. One Berlin newspaper announced that it received "far more than five hundred poems a day." Julius Bab himself, as editor of an anthology, received twelve hundred effusions per month.

The German critics were under no illusions as to the literary merit of this outpouring. They regarded it properly as a psychological phenomenon. The newspapers printed what they could until the news from the front made more urgent demands upon their space. Thereupon those who could arrange to do so gathered their effusions into book form. Quite a large number of these volumes have arrived in this country. After having read a couple of hundred of the poems I feel quite convinced of my thesis that the Germans have unconsciously transferred to the present war the reaction primarily incited by the celebration of the war against Napoleon, when the Prussians *were* cruelly treated, when they *were* the victim of an invasion and when unanimity and splendid bravery *did* result in their ultimate triumph. A 1914 will-to-fight, so artificial, on such insecure, even immoral grounds as this could not have survived the first frenzy. We shall see in the next section of this paper how the super-professors and the professors-in-ordinary converted the potentialities of this will-to-fight into the immensely important factor that it now represents.

As I have said, nobody in Germany was deluded into thinking that there was any value in the poetic effusions and letter-writing of the million Pro Bono Publico's and Veritas's. The literary critics exposed the utter lack of form and showed that the deluge of printed matter should

be regarded chiefly as an interesting chapter in mob-psychology. Every citizen of the nation of poets and dreamers, thinkers and idealists, understood that a more nearly official explanation of Germany's position would follow later on in the ex cathedra utterances of the professors throughout the Empire, particularly of the super-professors at the University of Berlin, speaking from the same platform from which Fichte and Treitschke had spoken when they held their audiences spellbound.

This professorial artillery was unlimbered at about the time that the field-artillery was unlimbered outside of Antwerp. Foreign countries had also been waiting for the semi-official explanation and we can all recall the surprise, not to say shock, occasioned by the document issued by a hundred German professors, headed by such distinguished men as Eucken, Harnack and Kühnemann, and addressed to their academic colleagues in France and England. We are now more interested in the speeches intended for home consumption, preëminently in those delivered by the Berlin professors. The first one was delivered by Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on August 27, 1914. Eleven other professors, including Delbrück, von Harnack, Kipp and Franz von Liszt, treated the war from various standpoints, the series concluding on November 18, 1914. Thereupon the whole series was published in book form as *Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit*, Heymanns, Berlin (350 pages). The preface shows the value attached to them:

German history will contain no more splendid pages than those telling of the first triumphant weeks. All concern was banished by the enthusiasm that held all classes of the people in its grasp: "How happy are we that we are Germans!" Then matured the plan to publish this book. The enthusiasm must be maintained, must be spread out over a time when every day does not bring news of fresh victories, when "hold on" will have to be the watchword, when joy over victories will be diluted by laments over the dead and gone, when the exigencies of existence might weaken the hope of ultimate victory. . . . In a word, these speeches must serve to reveal an inexhaustible source from which courage, hope and confidence may ever be renewed. . . . Thousands have heard these speeches, every class of



the people was represented and every hearer carried away a recollection of the lofty mood, even inspiration, that animated the speakers. In the addresses lives the spirit of these times. They are testimony to the fashion in which the German people accept the war. In them flame all the anger and passion of the day.

We are by this time tolerably familiar with the viewpoint of the professors. However, I translate freely a few quotations in order to uphold the general thesis of this paper.

From Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: *How the War Began*: How our hearts have been elevated by what this war has revealed! Among us a spirit of concord. . . . And what has been revealed in the Belgian soul except the spirit of cowardice and assassination? . . . No moral forces operate in them, hence they reach for the torch and the dagger. . . . We are sorry for the poor Russians who are led to the slaughter, they know not why or wherefore. . . . But we are a free people, we are obedient because we know what we are fighting for. . . . The French have been forced into the fight by their ruling classes, who mislead the people chiefly to continue their mastery over them. . . . And England! There is the real evil spirit that has summoned this war up from hell, by reason of her spirit of envy and hypocrisy. . . . We did not want this war. . . . Since we were forced into it, since every one knows that it was not our making, that is why we all stand united, trusting in our right, our good cause, our honesty of purpose.

From Roethe: *We Germans and the War*: We did not want or seek this war. We have peaceably submitted to so much that for that very reason our enemies, not understanding our patience, suspected a trick . . . and now we are brutally and insolently attacked, even where we seem to be the aggressors. . . . England would fain see us reduced to an aggregation of little states. But the right that Fichte demands for every state that has any right to existence, the possibility of developing, of realising our ideals, all this England is unwilling to permit and so we must fight our way through, in order that we shall not perish. . . . Today every German renders thanks that Prussian sense of discipline, or orderliness, of fulfilment of duty permeates the German army, a sense of duty intimately associated with love and allegiance to the supreme war-lord. . . . How we love our wonderful army! How it unfolds all the highest virtues of the nation! "Good fellows" our soldiers have been called and the term fits, so generous are they, so big-hearted and withal so naïve. To be sure, I do grant that occasionally a Bavarian may bring down the butt of his musket more forcibly than an English or French skull might approve. But it is the bitter duty of our soldiers thus forcibly to punish the infamy of assassins. But their natural good nature asserts itself quickly. We have learned how German soldiers offer a refreshing draught.

to the prostrate foe who had tracherously shot at them. We see how universally they respect the defenselessness of women and children. We read with emotion how our boys, whose culture is genuine and not a mere cloak, as is the case with our enemies, saved the beautiful City Hall in Louvain from the destruction that the rabid population sought to wreak. Perhaps nothing distresses us Germans today so much as the fearful untruthfulness of our opponents. They lie for various reasons and in various ways. The Russian is the most harmless; he lies stupidly and brutally. The Frenchman must lie to deceive himself, lest his élan vanish. But the English lie systematically, cold-bloodedly, deliberately. . . . The lie is contrary to German nature. Even Bismarck gained his greatest diplomatic triumphs by telling the truth in a frank manner that no English or French diplomat would have thought possible.

From Otto von Gierke, *War and Civilization*: There is not one among us who does not know that this war was forced upon us. . . . Now we want the war, want it in all its power and magnitude. Neither fear nor pity shall weaken our arm until the host of enemies is defeated. We share none of the blame for the breach of the peace; with a clean conscience we exercise our right to self-defense. We hail the war as salvation sent by divine dispensation. For a righteous war does not only destroy values; it also creates them. . . . War has always swept away that which was ripe for destruction. . . . The world has nursed the illusion that this nation was forever fated to play the role of the Cinderella among the nations. Fichte told us a hundred years ago that our nation was called to perpetuate culture for the world and hence owed it to itself to preserve itself.

And so on, at great length. It ought not to be necessary to quote further from this book, or from *Die Deutsche Erhebung von 1914* by Friedrich Meinicke (of the University of Berlin) 8 *Addresses*, Cotta, 1914 or from *Vom Deutschen Volk zum Deutschen Staat* by Paul Joachimsen (University of Munich), Teubner, 1915, to show how this body of influential men, to whom the mobilisation of the higher grade of intelligence was entrusted, went at their task of prolonging the first mad enthusiasm, of universalising the will-to-fight. The very fact that they make no attempt to explain, much less to deplore, carries with it its own explanation. For while the addresses ostensibly bore on the situation today, most of the references in substantiation are to the Germany of an earlier day. Their philosophy is built out of a tradition that in the course of a

century and a half has never suffered revision or emendation but has ever bulked larger until by its very weight it carries conviction.

The moral and philosophic code formulated on Kant and extending through Fichte, Hegel, Bismarck and Treitschke down to Nietzsche represents a crescendo of the appeal to force and a diminuendo of the appeal to reason. Kant planned for the elimination of war, as war ruined civilization. Fichte approved of the war of 1813 from highly idealistic motives, as a fight for existence. To be sure, the Prussians were then animated largely by the same revanche sentiment that they find so culpable in the French today. At the mid-century period, Hegel's abstract state was not so much a substitute for Kant as a sublimation of Kant. "Hegel posited the law of strife with a positive proviso against the elimination of war, which he regarded as medicinal." (J. M. Robertson, *The Germans*, 1916, p. 252.) Bismarck administered this "medicine" whenever he deemed that the body politic had need of it. Yet even Bismarck is on record as having said that he could conceive of no contingency that would involve him in a war that should open with a breach of neutrality. After Bismarck came Treitschke with his "Preussen über alles" creed. Fichte the philosopher left his cool and contemplative realms and became Fichte the patriot just for the time that his country needed him. Similarly, Josiah Royce, in his *Philosophy of Loyalty*, sounded the patriotic note only because he felt that American ideals were in need of reassertion. But Treitschke was eternally rattling the sabre and, what was worse, he made the rattling sound like music to the ears of the Prussians. Finally came Nietzsche, with the glorification of war as the mother of supermen. He cannot be accounted for on the basis of patriotism as he was a Pole and hated the Prussians and their Nationalism. Richard Meyer, whose *History of Literature* was quoted above, says that the Nietzsche cult began to wane about 1905 and had no great power in 1913 when Meyer's book was written. And yet a German pamphlet records that the favorite books with the men at the front are the Bible,

Faust and Thus spake Zarathustra! To be sure, this book affects one with a milder form of Nietzscheism and the soldiers have further diluted it with the humane culture of Goethe and the love and charity of the New Testament. The professors at home found the undiluted essence of Nietzsche more stimulating and even more palatable.

*Preparedness through education.* Every warring nation has given evidence that it realizes the truth of the axiom that true preparedness begins in the schools. The English aphorism that Waterloo was won on the playing-ground of Eton is matched by the German statement that their school-masters won the Franco-Prussian war. It is in France, however, that the most systematic and thorough-going efforts have been made to train the youth into a spirit of readiness to die for their country. Copious illustrations of support of this may be found in *Patriots in the Making* (1916) by J. F. Scott, who has made a careful study of recent educational history in France and Germany, of the text-books employed, of the school curricula and of the official enactments bearing on the aims and methods of teaching love of country. It seems to be true that the French have been actuated by a burning desire for revanche. In the main this has been critical, rational, intelligent and honest, only occasionally sounding the chauvinistic note. Naturally, the Germans maintain that the system inaugurated by Fichte has been kept on the same high plane. Scott sums up the German situation as follows: (1) Patriotism has been taught in connection with various studies and throughout all grades of instruction. (2) The school has fostered belief in the monarchical principle and a devoted loyalty to the Hohenzollern dynasty. Doctrines deemed dangerous to the present form of government have been combated. (3) Education has tended to develop national egoism through a glorification of German civilization and German achievements, and a failure to make allowance for shortcomings. (4) The school has toyed with the vision of a greater national destiny, suggesting the hope of increased power on land and sea. (5) This apotheosis of Teutonism which has characterized German

education has naturally been accompanied by a disposition to ignore or disparage other nations.

The French and the German systems are thus contrasted by Scott:

In Germany education has been used to fortify monarchical rule, whereas in France it has served to weaken the desire for one-man power. As far as education is a factor in national life, Germany has probably secured greater docility in her people, though not necessarily greater loyalty, than has France. . . . The teaching of patriotism in Germany is less formal, less didactic than in France, and so perhaps even more inspiring for the hour of victory. There are two respects in which the patriotic education of the French has been of a character less dangerous to world peace than that of Germany. In the first place, the official programs and consequently the text-book writers of France have laid emphasis on the defensive aim of the country's military preparations. The supreme necessity of repelling invasion has been constantly reiterated, while there has been a disposition to decry chauvinism. In Germany, on the other hand, there seems to have been a tendency to glorify the military spirit for its own sake. This would naturally lead to chauvinism. Secondly, a greater degree of national egoism is to be found in the text-books of the empire than in those of the republic.

This summary will serve as an excellent basis for our study of German educational literature that has appeared since the war began. To do the Germans full justice, we must take cognizance of another factor in their reaction. For some years previous to 1914 representative Germans of all classes had been conducting a determined drive on their educational system, from top to bottom. Organizations like the Munich Freie Studentenschaft criticised the quality of the work done by university students and professors, and educational authorities in general asked for a redistribution of the emphasis on various subjects taught in secondary schools. Some reforms were introduced but it was not until the war began that the immense obstacles of tradition and formalism were removed. Thereupon the far-seeing reformers seized the opportunity to urge vigorously the long-sought improvements. As we shall see, they sounded the patriotic note too loudly. It must be remembered, however, that all the literature I

refer to dates from the first six months of the war; subsequent writings, inaccessible because of the blockade, must certainly have taken a more moderate tone. And yet even after making proper discount for the excitement occasioned by the first days of the war and after making further discount for the reformer's tendency to overstate his case, there still remains an excessive amount of intemperate swashbuckling, enough to show that no department of French and German instruction is in such great need of a change in methods of presentation as this very subject of patriotism. The pedagogy of patriotism has addressed itself to the "roaring lion" aspect of human psychology, pacifism to the "sucking dove"; the true patriot will discover a middle stage that will appeal less to the emotional and more to the intellectual and, if possible, to the devotional sides of human nature.

Most of the discussion of the war as it bears on educational problems is encumbered, like the more purely controversial literature, with a husk of self-glorification that must be stripped off before one can get at the fruit. I shall give an abstract of some of the more concrete ideas and follow that with quotations from three books intended for use with classes in history.

*In general.* The keynote of the instruction must be a militant nationalism—*Deutschtum über alles*. "The most important impulse for future guidance that pedagogy can draw from the war is the accentuation of Germanism. The schools must foster an inclination for everything German. Honor will demand that we meet our educational needs from our own resources." (From Alois Fischer, "Die höhere Schule nach dem Weltkriege," in the collection of *Beiträge* edited by J. Norrenberg, Teubner, 1916, hereinafter referred to as *Beiträge*). "By reason of the circumstance which constrains us to see in every adult male the warrior ready for the battlefield and in every youth the potential soldier, we must assign to women a more abundant share in the guardianship of the national resources, freeing the male for his particular task. Every effort must be made to oppose the feminine tendency to

admire foreign ideas and customs. Plans should be made in times of peace such that every woman may at once, upon the order to mobilize, take the particular place assigned to her" (H. Borbein, "Higher Education of Girls," *Beiträge*). "After peace comes we can by no means look forward to an interval of rest, but rather to a long or even permanent period of preparation for war, in which we must speed up our spiritual and moral resources to the same high potential as our economic resources" (Paul Lorentz, "Das Trugbild der Allgemeinbildung," *Beiträge*).

*Instruction in various subjects. History.* Official Prussian enactment of April 1, 1915, in part: Every opportunity must be sought to make the pupils realize the great events of the day, to explain the economic necessities, insofar as they are involved, and to foster a will to see the war through to the end. September 2, 1915: The history taught in Quinta henceforth shall be a continuation of the German history taught in Sexta.

In observing this call for more contemporary history, let chauvinism be as foreign as the word itself (A. Epey, *Die Schule*, 1916).

Restrict the time given to unessential facts. Call attention to the restrictive measures and mortification which we have suffered at the hands of other countries (Jantzen, *Von Deut. Erziehung*).

History must no longer be an accessory of culture, a by-study; it must be a major study in the fullest sense. Let the young people have all the German history they can absorb! Let no foreign cult insinuate itself into the innermost sanctuaries of German culture! (H. Gaudig, 1915. *Ausblicke in die Zukunft der deut. Schule*, Teubner, 1915).

History teaching should lay chief stress on recent times and do everything to foster patriotic inspiration. F. Neubauer, *Geschicht und Staatsbürgerkunde*).

*International law.* Before going into details, let me say a word or two as to Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality. In his speech of August 4 the Chancellor gives the best possible defense. He admits that international law was violated. But he shows that this was only in the face of necessity. Until this time Germany had always observed international law. . . . It was not for base gain or territory that we broke the law, but the necessity of defending our interests. (Mentions Brussels documents). The German government holds that the formulation of such plans was in itself a breach of neutrality, so that Belgium could not ask Germany to respect the agreement (Wehberg, *Das Völkerrecht im Unterricht*, Gotha, 1915).

*Modern Languages.* Ministerial enactment of November 6,

1914: Next to history probably no department offers so much opportunity as modern languages to get into actual relation with the great events of the war, to teach them to the young . . . . . Wherever the armies push forward in the West, in Belgium, on the Eastern front, they enter old German cultural regions that preserve in their language and customs some memory of the former glory of the Empire.

Insufficient attention is paid to our own language. In Unter-tertia and Obertertia German is taught only two hours per week. . . . . We should reduce the number of hours given to modern languages and distribute them among German, geography and history. Let us not send out daughters to foreign boarding schools or put them under the charge of foreign governesses. Such action prevents the growth of a healthy patriotism (Jantzen, *Von Deutscher Schule und Erziehung*).

No more delving into grammar! Keep out the study of foreign languages; the German youth must be conserved for Deutschtum. We can learn much about the other countries without their language, particularly the economic side, which to us is the most important. (Gaudig *Ausblicke in die Zukunft der deut. Schule*. This attitude is the exception, not the rule).

It is as necessary as ever to study foreign languages but more stress should be laid on political evolution and on history (Theodor Engwer, "Modern Languages," *Beiträge*).

With the study of the state should go more attention to the vernacular. The patriotic views of Arndt, Fichte, Jahn and Kleist must be allowed to have their effect upon the pupils. Our great historians, in particular Heinrich von Treitschke, have not merited the scant courtesy shown them (Friedr. Neubauer).

Do not portray literature as something remote from life. Exclude the dilettante spirit and aim at inspiration. The Chancellor's speech admitting the violation of Belgium might be turned into verse:

Am Niederrhein will schon der Feind  
Zerschmettern unsre Flanke.  
Ob tausendmal es unrecht scheint,  
Wir brachen Belgiens Schranke!

Und reparieren hinterher  
Ihm gerne jeden Schaden,  
Weil es der reine Unsinn war,  
Das Heer im Blut zu baden.

(Witkop, *On Teaching German*.)

*Geography.* Even the eleven and twelve year old scholars can learn from a map that in marching to the North, away from the heights along the Rhine, our way led through more level Belgium and Northern France. A war geography must also teach meteorology, how the West Flanders campaign was brought



to a halt by the windy, sloppy weather and how wet weather blocked the march to Warsaw (F. Lampe, *On Teaching Geography*)

Other pamphlets tell how arithmetic, drawing, domestic science may be put on a war footing.

Several text-books have already appeared that endeavor to comply with the enactments concerning the teaching of history. I quote a few passages from three:

*Der Weltkrieg 1914/15 in der Volksschule.* Methodische Handreichung von Franziska Peil, Dritte Auflage, Oktober, 1915. 106 pages.

*Der Weltkrieg in der Volksschule und in den Anfangsklassen höherer Schulen,* von Sigismund Rauh. I Teil, Göttingen, 1915. 133 pages.

*Bundestreue, Chronik des Weltkrieges 1914-15.* Für die Jugend und das Volk hgg. von Gerhard Hennes und Laurenz Kiesgen. Münster, November, 1914

*The underlying causes.* Peil: As our country had grown so rich and efficient that it was taking its place in the markets of the world, England grew jealous and planned to destroy us. . . . France wants revenge on Germany because of Alsace-Lorraine. Russia knows that the way to Vienna is by way of Berlin, so they look on us with hatred.

Rauh: You see how our principal enemies began to war against us because of envy. The English through jealousy of our prosperity, the French through jealousy of our fame in war and the Russians through envy of our beautiful land. And they all said: 'We must crush Germany so that there will be nothing left of her.' Then the English would be the only merchants, and the French would be the best soldiers that everybody would be afraid of and the Russians would get more land out of which they could squeeze money.

Bundestreue The shopkeepers across the Channel felt attacked in their most sacred possession, their pocket-books. . . . The hatred passed all bounds "The damned Germans" (sic), said the statesman, the manufacturer, the merchant, who were unable to compete with Germany's efficiency, "we must humiliate Germany, take away her political power, break her army, smash her fleet."

*The immediate cause.* Peil: Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia demanding investigation of the crime, punishment of the guilty and an official declaration that the conspiracies against Austria should cease. Serbia's answer came but it was unsatisfactory.

Rauh: Austria said: "We demand that the conspirators be given a real trial; to make sure that this is done we shall send some judges from Austria-Hungary." . . . The Russian

emperor said he would not permit that. But Francis Joseph said that was none of his business. Thereupon Russia threatened war.

**Bundestreue:** Austria demanded an honest investigation of the crime, with the assistance of the Austrian authorities. Serbia's reply was evasive and absolutely unsatisfactory.

**Belgium.** Peil: Belgium is a neutral state which troops should not cross. Yet our troops crossed the border and demanded free passage to France. How did that happen? We *had* to go to France and Belgium was the best way for us to go. Moreover, it was known that there were French officers in Belgium. Necessity required that we take the only open road. We did not want to fight any battles, we wanted to go through because we had to. We told the Belgians so, perfectly frankly; but they were struck with blindness and did not see the honesty of our purpose. Foolishly they rejected our proffer of friendship. Indeed they seemed to hate the sight of the Germans, a fact that was incomprehensible to us. But now we know that all kinds of plans had been made with France and England, long before.

**Rauh:** Our Kaiser said to Bethmann-Hollweg: "We know that the Belgians have made secret arrangements with the French and English. Should we show consideration to such hypocrites? We can win more quickly if we go through Belgium, so we'll simply go through."

**Bundestreue:** Belgium violated her own neutrality. Then after she refused to let us go through after promising that she should not suffer economically, we simply could not pay any more attention to her supposed neutrality.

**The conquest of Belgium.** Peil: Liège was taken in honest, open warfare. Our soldiers regretted the sacrifices that had to be made but rejoiced at their victory. But their joy was diminished by reason of the constant trouble with armed citizens, the snipers. No soldier's life was safe; from behind trees and from houses the snipers shot in blind rage, not even respecting the Red Cross. We had to resort to stringent means to put a stop to this

**Rauh:** When our soldiers entered Belgium and defeated their army they thought they had nothing more to fear. And so they were very kind to the citizens and women and children and did no harm to them. But the Belgians were tricky and deceitful; even women and children seized weapons and shot German soldiers. . . . All Belgians found in such houses were shot. Of course, we took pity on some of the wretches and let them get away when they howled and yelled. Our enemies, especially the lying English said we had murdered citizens and burned their cities, but they did not add that the Belgians began the murdering and suffered the just punishment.

**The Marne.** Rauh: When children become spoiled, their fathers see that they learn to behave. Grown up people are often like

children. Now who is the father that has to be stern with them?

Pupil: That is the good Lord.

Teacher: Correct. Well, in September, 1914, the dear Germans had become spoiled. Every day new victories, new fortresses taken, twenty or thirty kilometers covered on the march to Paris. Everyone in Berlin was out in the streets cheering. They thought they could ask the Lord to let this keep up. Then all of a sudden the good Lord cried: "Halt!" Then the situation changed. General Joffre had collected more troops than we had and we had to yield ground and the victories stopped. . . . Then the good, dear Germans at home had to practise patience, because the stern father in heaven does not relax in his purpose. That was a good thing for us. Anybody can cheer when things are going finely but it takes a man to bear up under danger and trials. The good Lord thought to himself: "I wonder if my Germans are real men of this type?" So he put the Germans to the test. The Germans gritted their teeth and stood the test successfully.

There could be no object in quoting at greater length. One of the accounts calls the battle of the Marne a "masterpiece of strategy," the others minimize its importance. Bundestreue says that the French and English were the first to use asphyxiating gases.

The gaily illustrated books for children are listed as "fiction" but they serve much the same purpose as the histories. Only a thin thread of narrative holds together the chapters that follow the experiences of the heroic soldiers. Undoubtedly, every warring nation has produced many such books, chiefly for the holiday trade.

Up to this point all the evidence has gone to show that the first mad enthusiasm of the German people was inchoate and formless but acquired depth and breadth through the efforts of the eminent professors, epigones of Treitschke and Nietzsche, and then acquired permanence through the capacity of the lesser professors to pass the enthusiasm on to the younger generation. In his keynote speech the emperor called for complete moral and physical support. The immensely impressive response appears to the German mind, now thoroughly mobilized, as *Begeisterung*, *Erhebung*, terms which might fitly be employed to describe the spirit in which the crusaders responded to the

exhortations of Peter the Hermit. The present-day Germans have not had to turn back the pages of history as far as Peter the Hermit, however. His embodiment is found in Fichte, while the sentiment animating the crusader is found again in the *Addresses to the German Nation*. "Es siegt die Begeisterung über den, der nicht begeistert ist" was Fichte's recipe for the salvation of the state. A hundred years later Fichte again becomes the most-quoted German author. "Kriegstechnik," a sort of manual of warfare, interprets the above quotation as the clue to success, adding: "Flaming enthusiasm for prince and Fatherland shall thrill each and every German." The net result is best expressed by Dewey in his *German Philosophy and Politics*, page 81: "Patriotism, national feeling, national consciousness are common enough facts. But nowhere save in Germany in the earlier nineteenth century, have these sentiments and impulses been transformed by deliberate nurture into a mystic cult." Let me remind the reader that the Germans of today regard themselves as reincarnations of the Germans of 1813. Patriotism is still the mystic cult that it was a century ago!

What does the war literature show as to the relations between religion and patriotism? Let us take first the didactic literature.

As one might expect, the Religionstunde in school is to be employed in inculcating patriotism on the Biblical analogies.

The Old Testament, representing Israel as a little state fighting for existence, is of greater value than the New as a fund of ideas that bear on race and patriotism. Draw upon the Apocryphal books of the Maccabees. Let the younger pupils merely study Old Testament stories, the older pupils learn the application of these stories to Germany in contradistinction to, say, France. Almost all the injunctions of the decalog may somehow be brought into relation to the war. Thus: *First commandment*: How the soldiers and those at home fear God. *Second*: Prayer for victory and peace. *Fourth*: Religious services on the field of battle. *Fifth*: Authority and State; duties of citizens and soldiers to king and country. *Sixth*: Giving one's self for the country; Red Cross; first aid. *Seventh*: The sacrifice that women make in giving their husbands to the cause (!). *Eighth*: Respect

of property. *Ninth*: Our opponents' campaign of lies; fairness in judging the enemy. *Tenth* (Thou shalt not covet): Omitted (!). . . . In the New Testament teach the life and letters of Paul; moral values such as courage, joy of combat, endurance, self-sacrifice. To avoid the danger of moral perceptions becoming blunted teach orderliness, discipline, moderation, truth, simplicity; avoid craft, deceit, cunning, however, permissible such may be at the front. (Spanuth, *Der Religionsunterricht*.)

Most of the writers adopt the same general tone as Spanuth. It is interesting to see the general disapproval of "songs of hate," not so much because they are wicked as because they weaken the soldier's moral fibre, accordingly his efficiency. The analogy to God's "chosen people" is rather common. Germany's "false gods" were the material things of this earth. An almost invariable note in the religious literature, didactic or sermons, is that the war will bring about a general "Selbstläuterung," a "Reinigung." Aristotle said the purpose of tragedy was to purify the emotions; the Germans declare that the war, as the greatest of all tragedies, will effect the complete purification of the German character. This note must have come from Nietzsche who praised war as the transvaluer of all values.

One of the most remarkable books of the war is Ernst Haeckel's *Ewigkeit: Weltkriegsgedanken über Leben und Tod, Religionsentwicklungslehre*, Berlin, 1915, 128 pages. In this sequel to his *Riddle of the Universe*, he portrays 'war' as the answer to the riddle: The old familiar monistic doctrines are restated in a higher and shriller key; the message, undeniably sensational in its earlier form, is now almost obliterated by the crimson stain on every page, in almost every line. I quote without further comment:

The underestimation of human life: Every day we read of the deaths of many hopeful youths; we read of families left fatherless through the loss of splendid men in the prime of health. Such losses are especially hard for Germans to bear, as the spiritual and cultural attainments of the Germans and Austrians are higher than those of the enemy, hence the average value of life is far greater on our side than among the enemy recruited from mercenaries and from the lower classes of every clime and color.

Germany and England: The consequences of the world-war, criminally invoked by England—the greatest crime in the history

of the world—are so terrible and will inflict such deep wounds on humanity that a reconciliation between Germany and these false English fratricides is not to be thought of, as yet. At least the present generation of Continental Europe, which has been a witness every day for fifteen months of England's barbaric and infamous method of conducting war, of her unparalleled slaughter, of her shameless lying and hypocrisy, her contemptible treatment of wounded and prisoners, cannot possibly extend to her the hand of reconciliation. A new generation must arise before morals and tolerance, private rights and international rights (both trodden under feet by England and her allies) are re-established.

England's illusion of greatness. When the well-known declaration of ninety-three reputable German scholars tore apart the meshes of a network of lies and exposed the true nature of the outbreak of the war, one hundred and twenty English scholars answered with a counter declaration whose incredible representations can be explained only as evidence of the familiar English illusion. It is indeed a fact that the greater part of the English population are in the pathological condition of believing that they alone are the real furtherers of culture and civilization; an immeasurable national pride that is increased by their ignorance of the real accomplishments of other nations.

The terms of peace. The newly-annexed territories shall be germanised thoroughly and regardlessly (*energisch und rücksichtslos*), but at the same time with judgment and prudence, or else at any rate they shall be made partakers of German culture and civilization.

*The share of the preachers.* There has been a small-sized deluge of sermons, many of them bound together under one cover and stamped on the outside with an apparently official Prussian cross. These sermons had already been delivered from pulpits, so that it is hard to see why they are thus authenticated, or even published at all, unless they are intended to serve as propaganda, to inspire the unanimity for which the Kaiser called. They run the whole gamut of feeling, from sincere indorsement of the Sermon on the Mount down to the ragings of the furor teutonicus in its most malignant form. I shall not quote from them at this place inasmuch as a complete exhibit may be found in a book that came to my hands after the present article was set up in galley-proof: *Hurrah and Hallelujah, a Documentation by J. P. Bang, with an introduction by Ralph Connor, Translated from the Danish by Jessie Bröchner*, Doran, New York, 1917, 234 pages. Bang has assembled an extraordi-

nary amount of evidence to show the German hatred and contempt for other nations and, sadly enough, it is the preachers who furnish the capstone to his argument. The German mind is now completely, efficiently mobilised!

The purport of this whole paper is embodied in a quotation from W. H. Dawson's *What's Wrong with Germany?* (p. 65):

Another collateral result (of the conception of the State) has been the perversion of patriotism. This, too, has been officialized and governmentalized until it has lost the old idealistic meaning. As the state machine manufactures opinion, so it manufactures patriotism, or rather the spirit and sentiment which do service for it under a system which identifies patriotism with slavish acceptance of the official policy, and loyalty with mechanical adulation of the sovereign. Today patriotism is 'taught' in the schools as part of the recognized curriculum, like grammar and geography; not only by a means of a skilfully devised rotation of national celebrations, but by systematic perversion of history.

To substantiate this and to show the working out of the whole principle, I quote from the *Schriften der Münchner Freien Studentenschaft*, Heft 4, *Der Krieg und die Jugend*, von G. Wyncken:

The war will cost a quarter of a million in dead—about the number of infants who die every year and who might be saved. It will cost 30,000,000 marks—about the sum spent for alcohol in ten years. Is war "out there" any worse than the distress in times of peace, than the disparity between poverty and riches? Soldiers suffer for us, but thousands suffer for us in times of peace and we accept it without comment. So was our peace really better than war? I do not believe so. Why, our peace was itself war, a struggle for existence. . . . In no way do the people work so well for the state as in war. To the youth war is not a political but an ethical experience. . . . The war is not for a place in the sun but for the higher transcendent values, a holy war that does not look to man or to posterity for indorsement, but on high.

Here again is the haunting "chosen people" motif. That an extraordinary parallel to the People of Israel may be drawn is shown in the following quotation, written before the war and with no reference to Germany:

Their unique situations, surrounded on all sides by warlike and hostile communities, wedged in between empires, demanded from the Jews a combination of qualities unparalleled in the history of the world. In that sense at least may they be regarded as a chosen people.

That they emerged at all from this ordeal, must be ascribed to the perpetual haunting sense of God's presence, which alone could have sufficed to give them the necessary cohesion. . . . . The belief in God always went hand in hand with patriotism. . . . . The prophets looked to ultimate restoration of Israel, purged by suffering. Even when they had lost their independence, even amid all the leveling influences of Greek and Roman civilization, the Jews preserved their faith and character, and bequeathed not only the heroic example of the Maccabees, but the mellow and gentle wisdom of the Rabbis. . . . . We see, by the example of these great peoples, how essential is the bond of a common personality, a communion of souls uniting the past with the future (*The History of English Patriotism*, Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, 2 vols., 1913).

A communion of souls uniting the past with the future; once she can bring this about Germany's perpetuation is assured; that she is being threatened with destruction is in the last analysis due to the fact that her Weltanschauung represents a conflict of souls—and the dynastic state is the cause of the conflict.



## AMERICA ASLEEP AS NEW WORLD ERA OPENS<sup>1</sup>

*By F. E. Chadwick, Rear-Admiral, U. S. N. Retired*

We are in the midst of a situation which is only comparable to that of the fifth century. Every man who thinks at all knows that there was never a more pressing call for seriousness of thought and character; that it is no time for emotionalism or snap judgments.

We have no doubt our varying views as to how the terrible situation in which the world is now has come about. I will only say that its origin is not of today. We must go back to the sixteenth century for its beginnings in the carving up of the world into what are now called "spheres of influence," and to the struggles which have been continuous, or at least sleepless, since then for maritime and commercial supremacy.

There was practically not even a rest until the end of the Napoleonic period, when the Spanish, Dutch and French navies being swept from the seas, British imperialistic control was fully established. I shall not go into the details of this accomplishment which every schoolboy is taught, but which few remember, and the philosophy of which even their instructors rarely take in. But in this philosophy is the secret of this great war.

It has been the ever active greed of individuals, corporations and nations which began and continued our present conditions. I am not finding fault with what, in its beginning, was a perfectly natural and elemental thing. But it should not have fastened itself upon the world so fixedly.

It is unfortunate that the conditions were intensified instead of being alleviated along with the rest of the world's changes for the better; as, for instance, democracy instead

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered before the Lawyers Club of New York.

of feudalism and autocracy; freedom instead of chattel slavery.

In my view, there could at any time have been an adjustment of methods which would have secured peace. Had the principles of the Monroe doctrine had universal application two centuries before it was enunciated for American consumption only, the world would have been saved centuries of strife and Niagaras of blood.

Had such a principle been applied, say in the eighteenth century, our revolution would not have been, nor the Napoleonic wars, for all these were wars over economic questions.

Have we learned anything by all these bloody struggles? Not much. We find here at home talk of renewal of "protection," so-called, but which should really be called "restriction" of trade. And we know of the late meeting in Paris of the representatives of the Entente powers, which meeting was declaredly for an economic war, which could only bring again this war of blood.

In regard to the actual outbreak, I would advise waiting a bit to make up your minds. "Truth is the daughter of Time," and a few years will clear the atmosphere of doubt and fallacy. There is no use in forming a judgment as to events on publications since August 3, 1914. It is impossible to have a sane judgment in these great matters unless one were a student of them before the war.

To such the war was no surprise, for its imminence and certainty were clear years before.

We were ignorant here because of a shallow press for one thing and on account of our general distaste for anything not strictly commercial for another. Newspaper men are necessarily, as a rule, by the exigencies of their profession, but skimmers of affairs, so to speak. Every day they have to get out in a few hours a great heterogeneous mass of so-called information, most of which is of a trivial character and a great part of which had better not appear at all.

Having necessarily to deal chiefly with the immediate present, they have no time for the philosophy of things. There are, of course, exceptions, but thought in the main

is reserved for the weekly or monthly publications, and we find none too much of it there.

When one comes to know the fact, and it is a great fact, that the vast majority of all classes don't think, and don't want to think, one can understand how vital to human uplift a good newspaper press is. The thoughtful man with us must as a rule turn to the admirable foreign reviews, of which there are many, but of which there are too few in our own country.

And this is so because there is too little demand for serious literature. We don't in the main take kindly to serious things; we like a baseball game better. It has thus come about that we know nothing of the foundations of this war.

I say this deliberately. We have had plenty of emotions, but few sound judgments. You cannot form a judgment of such a world-moving event by detached incidents, terrible and heartrending as these may be. Thus the well-known Boston lawyer, John Chipman Gray, who was an officer in our Civil War, describes, in a letter printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May last, a meeting with Sherman on his arrival on the coast after his famous march through Georgia.

He mentions Sherman's telling, "with evident delight how, on his march, he could look forty miles in each direction and see the smoke rolling up as from one great bonfire."

Can we base our opinion of the justification for that war upon such things? No more can we base our opinions of this war upon actual or supposed atrocities on either side.

Such things, sad and terrible, stir out feelings, but they should not warp our judgment of the much greater questions of this world moving matter. Most of us are, however, I fear, in the situation of an old friend of mine who said, "I do not like to have my prejudices upset by facts."

Coming back to events: The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were spent in wars to rearrange world ownership. France had occupied a large part of North America and many of the West Indian islands; Holland was also an owner in North America, possessing a great

colony in what is now New York; England occupied later in the seventeenth century all of what is now our Atlantic seaboard, except Florida.

In the middle of that century she had destroyed Holland's sea power, both mercantile and naval; had seized New York, and a little after the middle of the eighteenth century had driven France from Canada and practically held nearly all east of the Mississippi.

The peace of 1763 left but two owners in North America—Great Britain and Spain. Florida was given to Britain as an offset to the relinquishment of Havana, taken in 1762. The peace of 1783 established the United States. Florida was returned to Spain, and there were again three nations in North America—the United States, Great Britain and Spain. There was to be no permanent settlement by Russia in Alaska until 1784.

In 1803 France had again, though but for a year or so, become an owner in North America. Napoleon had forced Spain to retrocede Louisiana, with a promise that it should not be alienated to another power. But, as always, international promises are of small moment in face of national necessities and the great region then known as Louisiana was practically given to us by Napoleon, we paying the nominal sum of \$15,000,000.

The reason for this action was the new outbreak of war between France and England, and the almost certainty of Louisiana's going to England in case France should attempt to hold it.

Our going beyond the Mississippi was thus due to Napoleon; Jefferson had not wished such an extension; he only as President advised acceptance of what was thrown into our lap.

We all know how we developed in the next fifty years into a great and almost regular rectangle which stretched from ocean to ocean, and bought Alaska, which added 700,000 square miles to our territory.

In 1898 we became an oversea power and started a moderate effort in imperialism, a thing which more and more we are coming to see should nowhere exist under any form

or jurisdiction, if the aim of the world be peace. For the imperialistic idea and that of permanent peace are wholly inconsistent, and I take for granted it is the latter which is wished. I do not think it desirable, however, nor will it come, unless the world reforms its ways and finds better methods to establish character than any we as yet have in evidence.

For war is allied, and very closely allied, with that great uplifter of character—sacrifice. To find as good a thing as war, we have got to permeate the world with the great religion of the golden rule. Instead of the usual dogmas I would blazon it over the world, in every church, temple, schoolhouse and home.

Even now all religions announce it as a fundamental precept, though none accept it in practice. Until we do so it is better to have the uplift by war than none at all.

All the greater powers during this last generation have been actively expanding imperialistically: Great Britain to the extent of 6,750,000 square miles, i.e., twice the area of the whole United States, Alaska included, and 2,000,000 of which have been added since the present war began; France, 3,500,000; Russia, 2,000,000; Germany, 1,000,000, and ourselves some 125,000.

This is no place to go into the ethical questions involved in individual cases. All were more or less wrong and some were deeply wrong, notably in the cases of Egypt, Morocco and Persia. In regard to the first of these I would advise every one to read *Egypt and its Betrayal*, published in 1909 by E. E. Farman, our consul-general there and judge on the International Court for seventeen years. The Egyptian question can only be understood through this book. I know no other which deals with the subject so well.

Egypt's case is, however, only typical. Now nothing is, in my opinion, more certain than that wars will continue unless all these spheres of influence seized since 1880—that is within the memory of many of you here—are thrown open to equality for all nationals, in trade and exploitation.

A notable step in this direction was taken in 1911, when, in November of that year, a convention was signed by

Germany and France, putting Morocco, which had now become a French protectorate, despite all the fine words of the Algeciras conference of 1906, on an equal basis. Germany's insistence upon this step is to her honor.

All this looks finally to throwing the world wide open; to the destruction of the customhouse, and the removal of all trade barriers. No doubt many will not agree at all with this idea. To such I have only to say you must take your choice: freedom of trade and peace, or protection and war. And to such would I say also, that with the former lies the much talked of efficiency.

Protection and efficiency are absolutely antagonistic terms. You will never have the best clothes, the best dyes, the best quality in anything, under protection. However, as I have just said, we can have our choice: if for war, protection; if for peace, the open door. The latter is the only true way to the removal of the causes of war.

A most notable instance of this was the abrogation of the customs boundaries of our own states by the constitution of 1787. Had these remained there would have been war between the several states almost beyond question. A United States with fiscal boundaries between each state is today an inconceivable thing. We have got to apply the principle to the whole world. As Goethe declared: "Above the nations is humanity."

I simply give the foregoing as the drift of what I understand to be the opinion among thoughtful men. One of the foremost minds in our country, an old Republican, a lifelong student of affairs national and international, said to me when Mr. Hughes came out declaredly for protection: "He does not see the drift of things." I myself believe with the critic.

To turn to other things:

We ourselves have come to the parting of the ways. We have got to face the music of actualities. We can drift no longer.

The first and fundamental thing, if we are to save our country as a distinct nation, is to recognize that we are only in the early stages of forming a nationality.

That we must integrate our many widely distinct elements and not tend to disintegrate them through the passions that have arisen during this war. The latter can only mean our ruin. We have the Balkans as an example to avoid.

We are in no sense a nationality as is Germany or England. I say England advisedly, for I now speak not of the British Isles, which are still four widely differing nationalities and still speaking four different languages: the Irish, Gaelic, Welsh and English; for there are many yet in Ireland, Scotland and Wales who do not speak English, or if speaking it, use their native language among themselves.

I know, of personal knowledge, that many Welsh can speak nothing but Welsh, and I have Irish servants whose household language at home was Irish, and they still, though long in this country, use it colloquially. If the United Kingdom, beginning as England and Wales, and adding Scotland and Ireland, have found such difficulty in effecting a complete nationalization, what shall be ours with over fifty nationalities within our borders?

India, with three times our population, on an area but half of ours (omitting Alaska), is the nearest example of similarity. It struggles, too, with a like great difficulty in the way of caste, for, say what we will, we have constituted a pariah caste among us, strongly akin to that of India.

And, too, this caste feeling is strengthening even in the region where it was least expected—New England. I had personal experience of this, as I had a negro motorman this last summer, an excellent and most respectable man. There were places in Vermont and Massachusetts where he had great difficulty in finding any place that would take him in. At Wellesley, in Massachusetts, he had to take a train to a neighboring town to find any accommodation whatever.

This tenth of our population under such conditions is a question the seriousness of which cannot be exaggerated. And we are adding to such difficulties by the free admission of blacks from the Cape Verde Islands, who have almost displaced the whites on Cape Cod, are in their thousands in the cotton mills of New Bedford, and are rapidly extending themselves beyond that region.

It is but the forerunner of a great black migration, unless Africa be put in the category with China and Japan.

The great question involved is: Shall we add to the enormous difficulties from our many varied elements already existing by adding Africa? I am now stating disagreeable facts, but facts are not to be ignored by hiding our heads in the sands of evasion.

In what we came to think as ordinary years of immigration we received in one year as many Russians and Italians as would make another Boston. In 1914 there were 278,152 from Austria-Hungary, 283,738 from Italy, 255,660 from Russia.

These were but the major immigrations. At the same time came scores of thousands from Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden and Norway, and fives and tens of thousands from Greece, the Netherlands, Denmark, Turkey and other lands.

Quoting from an address I made at Peekskill, N. Y., the last Fourth of July, I said:

There can be no question that these come to us as to a promised land with highest hopes and in many cases with highest aspiration. For men do not leave their native soil, breaking away from family and racial traditions for nothing. They can do so only when they have a certain spirituality of motive, however sordid it may appear superficially.

I can call myself an American as much as can anyone who has not a red skin, as the first of my name landed here 287 years ago, and I can trace no blood in me which is not American for 200 years. Personally I am a compound of British blood, i.e., Scotch, English and Welsh, but despite the facts that, through my ancestors, I have been so long in the country I can not under our system reckon myself more American than the man who has just taken out his naturalization.

And this feeling, I am sure in my own mind at least, we must have if we are to have a real American nation.

We cannot here be British or Italian, French or German or Swede and at the same time be Americans.

For to be an American can only mean one who works for the building of an American nationality. We no more want the separate life here of the many nations which contribute to our stock than we wanted a separate North and South, or want an East and West America.

Our only safety as a nation lies in working toward a complete integration. There is only one alternative: the establishment



of a multitude of Macedonias. One way lies peace and high endeavor and great accomplishment; the other way, war, hate and destruction. These words are not too strong; they are true; in my opinion, profoundly true. I have no objection to the Briton or Turk or Frenchman or German sympathizing with the land of his origin in this great contest going on abroad. I, for one, can appreciate the feeling they are all undergoing. They all have my sympathy.

Even at the time of the Declaration of Independence we were a people of many and varied sorts. There were the English of New England, Virginia and Maryland; the English and Dutch of New York; the English and Germans of Pennsylvania; the Swedes of Delaware; the French Huguenots of New York and South Carolina. When I use the word English it is to include the Scotch and the Welsh, of whom many had come to America.

The Scotch-Irish of Ulster came to the number of 3,000 to 6,000 annually between 1725 and 1768. A famine in Ireland in 1740 caused an emigration, chiefly from North of Ireland, for some years of about 12,000 a year. From 1771 to 1773 some 30,000 came.

It is estimated that half of the Presbyterians of Ulster came to this country in a moderate number of years before the Revolution. The greatest number by far of these we distributed toward the South; few comparatively went to New York or New England, though enough went to New York to give the name of Ulster to a New York county. Many went to Virginia and the Carolinas, and it was these people who formed the bulk of 'The Great Crossing,' as it was called, which traversed the Alleghenies into Kentucky and Tennessee and finally peopled, mainly, the Southwest.

It was a great and adventurous race to which the United States is indebted today for the Northwest Territory, then so-called, which, at the time of the peace, carried our boundaries to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

Great numbers of Germans came early in the eighteenth century. This migration began in 1683 and was due chiefly to the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by Louis XIV, an act which had far-reaching consequences for us in furnishing America one of its best stocks. Seventy thousand Germans entered at the port of Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775. Franklin estimated that at the latter date there were 100,000 Germans in Pennsylvania, a migration that set its mark, lasting to this day, upon the language, customs and religion of the state. "Pennsylvania Dutch" is still a living language.

The real Dutch, the Hollanders, the original settlers of New York, were and remained strong in that state, both through numbers and character. The amazing strength in the latter respect is shown in the persistence of their language to a late date, though the English had taken possession of the colony in 1664 when, it may be well to say, England and Holland were other-

wise at peace. Dutch was still in very common use at the time of the Revolution and it was so for generations later outside of the city of New York.

I have been told on excellent authority that so late as 1840 it was necessary to know Dutch to carry on business on the upper Hudson. And when my wife and I visited her many Dutch relatives in Albany and Troy some thirty years ago, some of the old ladies were rather put out that she could not speak Dutch. One even went so far as to keep a Dutch butler in order to keep up her knowledge of the language.

Few recall that the Swedes were the earliest colonists on the Delaware or know that the oldest church now in use in the eastern part of our country is one built of good solid stone by the Swedes in 1687 at what is now Wilmington and which is still in continuous use.

By 1820 migration began anew, and we have today by careful computation, besides those of British descent, not less than 20,000,000 of German blood, over 12,000,000 Irish, and in these latter days many millions of others of many kinds. There were by the census of 1910 some 32,000,000 of people living in the United States who were either born abroad or born here in the first generation of foreign parentage, or with a foreign father or a foreign mother.

This is a startling fact, one to be taken account of. The Germans come first with 8,250,000 the British, counting Canadians (but not the French), 5,000,000; the Irish 4,500,000, the Scandinavians 3,275,000, the Russians and Finns the same, the Austro-Hungarians also 2,270,000, the Italians 2,000,000. There are over 1,000,000 Jews in the one city of New York, as many as there are Episcopalians in the whole United States. Now the shape in which this vast mass is to be molded is for us to say.

The real problem, says Prof. Edward Steiner in his very interesting book, *The Trail of the Immigrant*, is whether the American is virile enough to assimilate the foreign immigrations and not so much whether the foreign material is of the proper quality.

I agree with him. I find in the newly arrived foreigner a greater sense of responsibility, a greater willingness to work, a greater appreciation of what America should be. I have borne in mind for many years a Russian Jew who came on several occasions to my house in Washington in the early 90's to do some glazing.

Both my wife and myself found him a most interesting and intelligent man, so much so that he usually remained at our request some time for a conversation. His mental equipment was of an unusually high order. There are many of his type. "But," to quote again from my address mentioned:

Whether some of us may like it or not, the indisputable, relentless and compelling fact is that these many and diverse millions are here to stay and become a part of our social and political life. The descendants of a more ancient immigration cannot kill off these many millions nor deport nor intern them. They are an integral part of our makeup.

The only true statesmanship is to make the best of existing things, to recognize that, following our motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, we are to look to the making of one nation out of many, a new people to be welded together through human sympathy and love instead of being divided by hate. It is this, or nothing.

In the state in which I now live, Rhode Island, 69 per cent are either foreign born or of foreign and mixed foreign and native parentage. This means that the old order has passed, that the dominant factor, mentally, morally and physically, is to be what we call the foreigner.

This must be so unless the native stock shows a pre-eminent superiority in these qualities. Of this I see no sign; and I can say this of our whole country. Have we as good municipal administration as may be found in Europe, as good roads, as wise and efficient administration? I think we must say No. The immigrant comes into a system which in such matters is on a decidedly lower plane than in the better parts of Europe.

I can illustrate the effect of this upon a servant woman who some three years since we brought with us from Germany. Landing at Boston, and having a couple of hours before we could leave for our home in Newport, I thought I would give her a chance to see something of this, one of our finest cities. She saw some of the best parts, and, starting to return to the station, she made her first remark: "Schlechte strassen" (bad streets).

Now here was the first impression of an intelligent foreign young woman, and she was right. No German Dorf would tolerate such streets as we passed over that day in Boston, and we were in its best district.

There is no need to dwell upon our failure in such matters. We know it all too well. But the real question is, Are we going to do better? And why should we do so ill at all? Why should we fall behind in these great details

of civilization; why are we incapable of good city design for example? With the best designed city in the world, Washington, for a pattern, laid out by a Frenchman who never received his reward, we have in no instance applied his principles, but have gone to the unintelligent system of rectangular streets, which finds its acme of inconvenience and absurdity in the great city of New York, the most ill-designed in the Christian world.

Nor can we get away from the wooden house, the upkeep of which is so expensive, which is so difficult to heat in winter, and which brings upon us a fire tax of some \$600-000,000 a year, when we count the fire losses, the insurance premiums and the cost of our extravagant fire departments that in New York City cost nine and a quarter millions; in Chicago three and a third; in Boston well-nigh one and three-quarter millions. The country in 1915 paid for its fire departments in its cities of 30,000 and more population, \$57,754,284.

There is nothing more indicative of our ineffective systems of life, for in Europe the fire loss per head of population is but a fifteenth of ours.

Is this "making good?" No. And we all know that we are not making good. The great and grave question is, "Why do we not?" For until our democracy shall produce the highest accomplishment it fails of the purpose of its organization. For democracy is but a type of government. It must stand in the forefront in intellect, in literature, art, national, state and city administration, in good roads and general well-being, or it fails.

Is our failure through simple ignorance—the half knowledge which comes of a superficial education of the millions?

Some years ago Mr. James Lowell spoke of our people as the most public-schooled and least educated in the world. The press, which does little to help, vigorously attacked such a statement. But I must confess that having had large opportunities to form a judgment through a profession which takes one to almost every land, nothing so strikes me as the gigantic ignorance of the world outside of us which overspreads our land.

This comes largely, so far as I can judge things, from a failure to read that great educator, history; and from a press entangled by special interests which cause much both of falsification and suppression of the truth.

Several times I urged Mr. Carnegie to so endow a great daily newspaper of the highest class, to be published in all the great centers simultaneously, to be as good in form as the best, to have illustrations and sell at one cent, and so managed as to be beyond cavil.

Such a paper might be made one of the greatest of educators. It would reach all, while the library reaches but the very few. A tenth of the \$335,000,000 which I know from excellent authority he has given away, devoted to such a purpose, would have made one of the greatest gifts of knowledge ever made to the world.

Referring again to our immigration: Had these many elements not come into our life American population had been today but a small proportion of what it now is.

In 1800 the number of children to 1000 women between the ages of sixteen and forty-four was 976; in 1910 only 508. The proportion of children under five years of age is only seven-tenths what it was even in 1850. If the rate continues, there will be, by the year 2000 but 200 children under five to every 1000 women; by 2060, but 28; by 2070, none.

The families of a number of college graduates, which were made subjects of inquiry, showed in 1815 an average of 5.6 children. By 1875 the number had decreased to 2.5. Of 634 marriages of Harvard graduates of the classes of 1872 to 1877 the average was but 2 surviving children.

There are now, among the native stock of New England but three births to replace four deaths. In other words, our more ancient stock, at least in New England, is dying out. In any case, the great fact that the country faces is that as the foreign-born woman has twice as many children as the native-born, and that as her children reared in America have a decreasing number, more and more is it clear that in time the older stock will be almost entirely displaced by the newer. It is a tragedy far greater than that now

enacting in Europe. The losses of this war can bear no comparison with those in this country of ours through failure of a normal development of life. For potential life is just as important and precious as actual life. You cannot draw the line. Instead of expending all our emotions upon the deaths of war we should keep some for this mighty shortcoming which threatens the older American with extinction.

Had we kept up our birth rate of the early part of the last century we could have peopled these states with more than as many inhabitants as we have now had there not been a single immigrant from 1815 on, and we should have had a close approach to a real American nation.

In saying this I do not mean that this great immigration has been a misfortune. To think so would be to take a very narrow view of things and would be, too, to arrogate to oneself a wisdom superior to an over-ruling Providence, in which I am a firm believer.

I have a detestation of what the French call a Chauvinistic spirit. I do not think that genius and ability are special attributes of my race or of any race. The two great religions which are the guides of half the population of the world had their origin, the one in Palestine, the other in Arabia. In fact, every real religion came from Asia; none from the so-called Christian nations.

The great prime movers, the steam engine, the electric motor, the gas engine came to us from abroad, as did the telegraph, the railroad, the Roentgen ray, photography and, what is most remarkable, every step in steel development. The telephone was invented by a Scot who was twenty-five years old when he became an immigrant to our country.

Strange as it may seem to you, we do not shine as inventors of the larger things. We are ingenious and strong in adaptation rather than inventive in the large sense.

One can enumerate, of course, many fine American inventions, particularly in farm implements, of which the cotton gin is perhaps the most notable through its amazing increase of cotton production which in turn brought the great calamity of fixing slavery upon us until the Civil

War came to free us, leaving however a social condition almost as serious. If you examine the subject with an open mind, I think you will find my general statement correct. Protection and a low view of commercialism have worked our ruin. We cannot turn from these lower views, even to take our place on the seas; we prefer to gamble in stocks rather than turn to matters of real statesmanship and progress.

There must, of course, have been a reason for this sort of backwardness in the larger things of invention. Partially it is to be found no doubt in the fact of our newness in the great period of invention, which was rather the earlier part of the nineteenth century than the later. And then, too, Europe had the development in mentality which came from the great struggles of the Napoleonic period.

For say what we may, every great war is followed by a great uplift in mental power of one kind or another. It is a mighty stimulus. And this is one of the things we shall have to meet. Europe for nearly two generations has been undergoing the education which comes from discipline. This of itself is an immense energizer.

During the seven years I lived in England as naval attaché to our legation (now an embassy) I was on intimate terms with a most interesting and able old man of my own name Sir Edwin Chadwick, born in 1800. He was of a most inquiring turn of mind, had been the father of many reforms and was one of Jeremy Bentham's executors, though then a very young man.

He came out in a pamphlet against German militarism, attacking it as an economic waste. I took issue with him, and between us we pursued an inquiry into the subject. We were greatly aided in this by the late Empress Frederick, who was a friend of my old friend.

Among the answers we received was one from an Englishman who employed several thousand men on a contract for new drainage works at Potsdam. He stated that he paid the men who had been through the army an average of 30 per cent more than he paid those who had not been.

Now here is unquestionably one of the great German

secrets of efficiency—discipline. And if they acquired that efficiency in peace what degree of efficiency will have developed by the end of this war? And not the German only but the Frenchman and Englishman, not to speak of others.

The whole of Europe is in reality developing by leaps and bounds an efficiency with which our own can by the very laws governing such things, bear no comparison.

Europe for one thing, and it is unquestionably a mighty factor in success, is learning a wonderful economy in living, and a knowledge how to sustain a wholesome life on little. Is there any sign of this among us? Are our women learning in any greater degree how to cook, or do they care at all whether by buying in neatly prepared packages they are paying double or treble what they should?

We have in maize one of the best and cheapest foods in the world. It has largely gone out of use through the ignorance of the newcomer, and like everything else it comes to one, when it comes at all, in a small package at double the price it should.

We have, in fact, become the most wildly extravagant nation in the world, as, for instance, paying, in some cases, 32 cents a pound for carefully put-up polished rice, which is the mother of neuritis, and which should not be allowed to be sold at all, while the farm price per bushel has in the last ten years not exceeded 91 cents and the price in New York and Cincinnati varied from 3 to 8 cents a pound.

I sometimes think that my friend Mr. Brooks Adams is right in saying that he is convinced that the difficulty with the United States is a complete intellectual bankruptcy.

But be that as it may, there can be no question that we are going to meet the European world, at the end of this war, strung to the highest pitch of efficiency. It will start on the new life with a vigor, a keenness and an ability greater than the world has ever yet seen, the outcome of the mighty education of war.

The central powers particularly have been undergoing two forms of efficiency which, apart from any other development, will carry them far. The one is in household economy, the other is in intensification of their agriculture.



Where shall we be in such a rivalry? What shall we do to meet it?

To speak frankly, I am staggered at the prospect, for we were behind in this great game when the war began and where shall we be at the end of it?

Will our public schools help us? No. They have through generations been softening our fiber by bringing up our young men under women. This is not to say that the woman is not a good instructor, for she is frequently better than the man; but that is not, or should not be, the main object of schools. Instruction in mere book learning is easy; that in character quite another thing, and it is the latter which is the preëminent object of education.

The woman teacher unquestionably passes over in a large degree her psychic qualities to the boy; she feminizes him. What we want is a masculine character in the boy; a feminine in the girl. We get the latter; we fail in the first.

I can illustrate this by a remark before a small body of gentlemen called together to hear him of a clergyman interested in a school which took in and brought up orphan boys. He said:

We are often called on to take boys too young to profit by our course. We get round this occasionally by trading for an older boy at St. Mary's, which takes care of both boys and girls, but there is no place from which we so dislike to receive a boy. He comes to us with a coating of femininity from which he never recovers.

Our first real step, therefore, is to put the boy under a man, no matter what the cost. I say no matter, because the question is vital to the country. We should stick at no cost.

I should like to go into this question at length and say something of the over-emotional character our ways of life have developed, but there are reasons besides want of time. All that I shall say is that we have got to produce less emotionalism, such as has run riot during this war, and we have got to understand that there is something more important than a game of football.

We can only pull out of the slough, in which we unquestionably are, through an entire reconstruction of our public school system, and perhaps a general military service of modified degree.

The first must develop a more virile character and a sterner system, which shall teach that higher sense of personal responsibility which seems to be so fast disappearing; which shall produce a seriousness which will make us look with shame upon failure in quality, whether it be in manners, streets, city and national administration, or standards in manufacture or government. The second will give us a much needed sense of discipline.

Our very roads, surfaced as a rule with but six inches of broken stone and with no foundation, stare us in the face as evidence of a superficiality from which we must emerge if we are to be in any sense world leaders in the strenuous period which is coming upon us.

It is for you men of position and thought to take our country in hand and shake into it something higher than the aspirations of a football team; to shame us out of our gigantic wastefulness in everything which concerns life, whether of food, timber, iron—more precious than gold (of which, according to one of our geologists, we have of higher grades not over twenty-five years' supply in our country)—and wasteful ways of agriculture. How wasteful is shown by a comparison for which I have to turn to Germany.

Some of you may not like these frequent references to Germany efficiency, but I would quote to such as have such enmity the Latin dictum *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. For Germany raised in 1912 on 5,558,000 farms averaging less than fifteen acres each 40 per cent more of wheat, rye, barley, oats and potatoes than we on 6,340,000 farms averaging each 138 acres.

In this fact lies the secret of Germany's immense staying power which has been the wonder of the world during the past two years. Great Britain has recognized this to the full and has organized on German lines; and it is to this we also must come if we are to hold our own in administrative methods, manufacture, agriculture and above all in

seriousness of character. If Great Britain is not above learning from an enemy with which she is at war, certainly we who are not at war, at least at this writing, can learn of one to which we owe a fourth of our people.

Whether we shall have to come to what we call universal military service, is, to my mind, a question. There is, in fact, no such thing in peace time as universal service. Taking Germany as typical (though all Europe was in the same category), she had 1 man in service for 89 of her population. On the same basis, we would have about 1,000,000 instead of 752,928 in Germany in 1913 (exclusive of some 30,000 commissioned officers of the line).

France had under arms in 1913, exclusive of commissioned officers, 1 to every 69 of her population; Italy 1 to 124; Russia, the great number of 1,384,000, or 1 to 121 of her 167,000,000 of her population.

Every year there arrive at the age of eighteen about 1,000,000 young men in our country. I would have them automatically on arrival at this age enter the army for one year's service. Such a number of enlisted men would require a permanent force of 45,000 officers and 150,000 non-commissioned officers. I would let but few escape on account of defective physique, for a benefit to such is a part of what we are after. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that 80 per cent of those who fought in the Union army in our Civil War were only twenty-one years old and under, and of these more than half were but eighteen and under. Wars are really fought by boys.

An army of 1,000,000 one-year service men would, in many ways, be a great gain to the country. It would take no one too long from the ordinary activities of life; we should look on it as a school much as we do the university, and would be an excellent preparation for the latter. It would give us in a few years several millions of trained men for war, should such unhappily occur, and it would be a most important element in the discipline now so much needed.

How important this is from even a money point of view I have already stated.

If there were more than one year's service the taking care of such an army in peace would be difficult. It would, with no enemy in sight or in prospect, be difficult to prevent demoralization and stagnation. In Europe they were looking across one another's borders, strung to high tension by the psychics of the situation. Conditions demanded a readiness which every man of the more educated countries, at least, felt to the depth of mind and soul.

I believe a one year's general liability to service would be our best solution of this problem.

The navy is a much easier matter to deal with. One of 150,000 men will meet our needs, and this number at least should be available by enlistment.

Until the world shall have arrived at a condition of permanent peace, I would have afloat the most powerful navy in the world.

It is our only real defense against foreign attack. I am no believer in a second-class navy. With a first-class navy, and it is in my view a *sine qua non*, the question of armies becomes a minor consideration. For if we are powerful enough on the sea, we shall be immune from foreign attack; if not powerful enough, we must submit to blockaded ports and invasion, however great the forces ashore. Ships are our only real security.

A final word as to the world outlook.

I think this war is going to end the imperialistic idea, the exploiting of special spheres of influence for the benefit of particular nations. Unless we go thus far at least, opening such regions to equality of trade and exploitation, we shall in the near future but line up for another struggle.

The world must be thrown open in large degree at least. All waterways must be made equally free to all; trading ships must go freely wherever the water will carry them.

There must therefore be no restrictions upon such waters as the Persian gulf, the Red sea, the Dardanelles and such like, any more than there are upon the Categat and Chesapeake bay. Were the Dardanelles absolutely free to commerce, Russia would not need to possess Constantinople.

Such things as I here suggest I regard as but a first step,

one toward the complete freedom which I am sure will come at no distant day; when American goods will move over every foreign railway subject to no more restrictions than the goods of the country to which the railway belongs.

We have got to demand absolute fairness and equality of treatment; until these are established there will be war.

The first thing which faces every man and woman in life is the necessity of gaining a living; food to eat, clothes to wear, and shelter from weather.

These necessities are so fundamental, so certainly the exercise of natural right that any interference, any blocking of the ways to such livelihood, must necessarily be resented.

This is what war is; the outcome of such resentment, the fear of deprivation of such right, and in its most ignoble phase, the greed represented by the exploitations of the spheres of influence to which I am always harking back.

I do not think the happy time I am holding up is coming any too quickly, though, as I mentioned in the earlier part of this paper, Germany's compact with France in November 1911, regarding Morocco, is a happy augury.

I think if a conference of the neutral powers were assembled today it would favor as a basis of peace the opening up of all special spheres of special influence established since 1880 (the date of the beginning of this later development): Egypt, Morocco, Madagascar, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Congo State, German Africa, British Equatorial Africa, etc., great regions amounting in the whole to twice the area of the United States. Certainly Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, Brazil, the Argentine and Chile would favor such an arrangement, and I am assured by a distinguished Belgian that so also would Belgium.

The acceptance of such a principle would be the beginning of the end of war. Until we shall come to such an accommodation there will be a new lining up of the world forces for war.

The inquiry is in every one's mind: "How will the war end?"

Whatever my own opinion, I am not going to make a categorical answer to this. I shall endeavor to put a few facts before you and let you form your own judgment. The facts are statistical, and you can thus assure yourself as to their accuracy.

Thus, if we take the populations of the chief warring countries at the beginning of the war and allow to each the percentage of military age (22.3 per cent of the whole) as shown in our own census of 1910, and use for these the percentage which Great Britain has used in a late parliamentary return respecting availables for military service in Ireland, which, taking the whole number of military age, reckons 44 per cent as indispensable for agricultural and other labor, and 40 per cent of the remainder as physically unfit, we have the following, which I give in tabulation:

COUNTRY	POPULATION IN 1914	NOS. OF MILI- TARY AGE ON AMERICAN BASE OF 18 TO 44 (22.3 PER CENT OF WHOLE POPU- LATION)	NUMBER NECESSARY FOR AGRICUL- TURE AND OTHER LABORS (44 PER CENT OF POPULA- TION OF MILI- TARY AGE BY BRITISH ESTIMATE)	PHYSICALLY UNFIT (40 PER CENT OF RE- MAINDER. BRITISH ESTI- MATE)	REMAINING FIT FOR MILITARY DUTY
United Kingdom..	45,702,960	10,191,779	4,484,381	2,282,959	3,424,439
Canada.....	10,000,000 (round nos.)	2,230,000	981,200	499,520	749,280
Australia.....					
New Zealand...					
France.....	38,530,844	8,592,307	3,780,615	1,924,677	2,886,915
Russia.....	176,233,388	39,300,045	17,292,020	8,804,810	13,207,215
Italy.....	35,081,451	7,823,164	3,442,192	1,752,389	2,528,583
Possible army total of entente powers.....					22,796,432
Excluding Servia, Roumania, Japan and colored races in 1914...					21,797,012
Germany.....	67,086,585	14,960,308	6,582,535	3,351,109	5,026,664
Austria-Hungary .	52,550,463	11,618,752	5,112,251	2,602,600	3,903,901
Turkey and Bul- garia.....	25,000,000 (a near estimate)	5,575,000	2,453,000	1,188,960	1,783,440
Possible army total of central powers in 1914.....					10,714,005

We have here the fairest estimate I am able to make of the numbers available for military duty. On its face it is against the central powers about as 2 to 1, if efficiency and

ability to get and keep these numbers in active service be disregarded.

It is impossible to get at the actuality, though I do not for a moment suppose these huge numbers are in the field. There is for instance no conscription in Ireland nor in the British colonies. Thus there were by parliamentary return, up to October 15, 1916, but 130,241 enlistments in Ireland, and, counting out as is done in the parliamentary paper mentioned the necessary laborers, unfits, etc., 161,239 would remain still available for conscription.

I feel obliged to refrain from giving the very moderate number, comparatively speaking, in the field, from a particular power, mentioned to me by an unimpeachable authority.

If the whole availables of the western powers were in active service there would be of British, British Colonials and French, 7,070,634; of Germans and Austro-Hungarians, 9,129,246. They are thus in relative strength as 71 to 91. The latter, however, have that greatest of strategic advantages, the interior line.

Every year (using our own census as a basis) there come to eighteen years of age about 10 per cent of the population. This would give, to make good losses, to Great Britain, 450,000; France, 385,000; Russia, 1,760,000; Italy, 350,000; Germany, 670,000; Austria-Hungary, 525,000; Bulgaria and Turkey, 250,000. There is thus clearly no want of ability to keep up numbers on either side.

In Great Britain, in ordinary times, there is an excess of births over deaths of about 450,000; in France but 30,000; in Russia, 1,725,000; in Italy, 411,000; in Germany, 850,000; in Austria-Hungary, 547,000. Thus, while the others are practically holding their own in population, the Frenchman killed has no replacer. For while the net rate of increase of births over deaths in the United Kingdom is 10.1 per thousand, that of Germany 11.3, of Austria 10.8, that of France is but 1.5; the average of the last three years is in fact less than one.

It is clear that the great sufferer by this war must, in the long run, be France.

I have placed these figures before you with every endeavor at fairness and accuracy, because they are what we should know and what every one can verify by a little personal trouble. Considering them and the situation, the continuance of the war seems to me to mean only more killing with no real victory in sight. As a newspaper put it a few days since: They might as well make peace without victory as make war without victory.

It would seem the part of wisdom to heed President Wilson's suggestions.



## OF THE CULTURE OF WHITE FOLK

*By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph. D., Editor of the Crisis*

We, of the darker peoples, are watching the white world now in mild amaze. Among some of us, I doubt not, this sudden descent of Europe into hell has brought unbounded surprise; to others, over wide area, it has brought the *schaden freude* of the bitterly hurt. But most of us, I judge, look on silently and sorrowfully, in sober thought, seeing sadly the prophecy of our own souls.

Here is a civilization that has boasted much. Neither Roman nor Arab, Greek nor Egyptian, Persian nor Mogul ever took himself and his own perfectness with such disconcerting seriousness as the modern white man. We, whose shame, humiliation and deep insult, his aggrandizement involved, were never deceived. We looked at him clearly with world-old eyes and saw simply a human thing, weak and pitiable and cruel, even as we are and were.

These super-men and world-mastering demi-gods listened, however, to no low tongues of ours, even when we pointed silently to their feet of clay. Perhaps we, as folk of simpler souls and more primitive type, have been most struck in the welter of recent years by the utter failure of white religion. We have curled our lips in something like contempt as we witnessed glib apology and weary explanation. Nothing of the sort deceived us. A nation's religion is its life and as such white Christianity is a miserable failure.

Nor would we be unfair in this criticism: We know that we too have failed as you have, and have rejected many a Buddha even as you have denied Christ. But we acknowledge our human frailty while you, claiming super-humanity, scoff endlessly at our shortcomings.

What Christian nations are today treating other nations as they would be treated, except they fear the other nation's guns? Is not this the taunt daily flung in the face of the

peace-makers? Is not this the reason that Europe, which now spends two and one-third billions of dollars a year in normal days of peace, has wasted in war stuff during the last century enough wealth to forward to approximate if not complete success most of our great modern movements in education, health preservation, child welfare, housing, and the like?

Or if we pass within the nation's life and take the attitude of social classes, how much of Christian charity is there today between the haves and have-nots, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the intelligent and the ignorant; some bonds there are, and much knowledge and helping; but self-defense, fastidious disapproval and armed truce describes the mutual attitude far more accurately than human love. The cumulated wrath of some submerged tenth, the fear of the police, the hatred of ugliness next our beauty—these are the motives we continually see and hear.

The number of white individuals who are practicing with even reasonable approximation the democracy and unselfishness of Jesus Christ is so small and unimportant as to be fit subject for jest in Sunday supplements and in *Punch*, *Life*, *Le Rire* and *Fliegende Blätter*. In her foreign mission work the extraordinary self-deception of white religion is epitomized: Solemnly the white world sends five million dollars worth of missionary propaganda to Africa each year and in the same twelve months adds ten million dollars worth of the vilest rum manufactured; peace to the augurs of Rome!

We may, however, grant without argument that religious ideals have always far outrun their very human devotees; let us then turn to more mundane matters of honor and fairness. The world today is trade. The world has turned shopkeeper; history is economic history; living is earning a living. Is it necessary to ask how much high emprise and honorable conduct has been found here? Something to be sure. The establishment of world credit systems is built on splendid and realizable faith in fellowmen. But it is after all so low and elementary a step that sometimes

it looks merely like honor among thieves, for the revelations of highway robbery and low cheating in the business world and in all its great modern centers has raised in the hearts of all true men in our day an exceeding great cry for revolution in our basic methods and conception of industry and commerce.

We do not for a moment forget the robbery of other times and races, when trade was a most uncertain gamble; but was there not a certain honesty and frankness in evil that argued a saner morality? Surely there are more merchants today and surer deliveries and wider well-being, but are there not also bigger thieves, and deeper injustice and more calloused selfishness in well-being? Be that as it may, certainly the nicer sense of honor that has risen ever and again in groups of forward thinking men has been curiously and broadly blunted. Consider our chiefest industry—fighting. Laboriously the Middle Ages built its rules of fairness—equal armament, equal notice, equal conditions. What do we see today? Machine guns against assegais, conquest sugared with religion, mutilation and rape masquerading as culture: all this with vast applause at the superiority of white over black soldiers!

War is horrible. This the dark world knows to its awful cost. But has it just become horrible in these last days, when under essentially equal conditions, equal armament and equal waste of wealth, white men are fighting white men with surgeons and nurses hovering near?

Think of the wars through which we have lived in the last little decade: In German Africa, in British Nigeria, in French and Spanish Morocco, in China, in Persia, in the Balkans, in Tripoli, and Mexico and a dozen lesser places—were these not horrible too? Mind you, there were for most of these wars no Red Cross funds!

Behold little Belgium and her pitiable plight; but has the world forgotten Congo? What Belgium now suffers is not half, nor even a tenth of what she has done to Black Congo since Stanley's great dream of 1880. Down the dark forests of inmost Africa sailed this modern Sir Galahad in the name of "the noble-minded men of several nations"

Belgian  
system  
take note

to introduce commerce and civilization. What came of it? "Rubber and murder, slavery in its worst form," wrote Glave in 1895. The whole story is too terrible to recite even in these days of terrible things.

Yet the fields of Belgium laughed, the cities were gay; art and science flourished; the groans that helped to nourish this civilization fell on deaf ears because the world round about was doing this same sort of thing elsewhere on its own account.

As we see the dead dimly through rifts of battle smoke and hear faintly the cursing and accusations of blood brothers, we darker men say: This is not Europe gone mad; this is not aberration nor insanity; this is Europe; this seeming terrible is the real soul of white culture—back of all culture, stripped and visible today. This is where the world has arrived—these dark and awful depths and not the shining and ineffable heights we boasted of. Here is whither the might and energy of modern humanity has really gone.

But may not the world cry back at us and ask: What better thing have you to show? What have you done or would do better than this if you had today the world rule? Paint with all riot of hateful colors the thin skin of European culture, is it not better than any culture that arose in Africa or Asia?

It is. Of this there is no doubt and never has been; but why is it better? Is it better because Europeans are better, nobler, greater and more gifted than other folk? It is not. Europe has never produced, and never will in our day, a single human soul that cannot be matched, aye, and over matched in every line of human endeavor by Asia and Africa. Run the gamut, if you will, and let us have the Europeans who in sober truth over-match black Nefartari, Mohammed, Rameses and Askia, Confucius, Buddha and Jesus Christ? If we could scan the calendar of thousands of lesser men in like comparison the result would be the same; but we cannot do this because of the deliberately educated ignorance of white schools by which they remember Napoleon and forget Sonni Ali.

The greatness of Europe has lain in the width of the stage

*America  
also*

on which she played her part, and the strength of the foundations on which she builded and a natural human ability no whit greater, if as great, as that of other days and races.

In other words the deeper reasons for the triumph of European civilization lie quite outside and beyond Europe, back in the universal struggles of all mankind.

Why then is Europe great? Because of the foundations which the mighty past has furnished her to build upon: The iron and trade of black Africa; the religion and empire-building of yellow Asia; the art and science of the "dago" Mediterranean shore east, south and west as well as north. And where she has builded securely upon this great past and learned from it she has gone forward to greater and more splendid human triumph; but where she has ignored that past and forgotten and sneered at it she has shown the cloven hoof of poor crucified humanity; she has played, like other empires gone, the world fool.

If then European triumphs in culture have been greater, so too may her failures. How great a failure and a failure in what does this world war betoken? Is it national jealousy of the sort the seventeenth century knew so well? But Europe has done more to break down national barriers than any preceding culture. Was it fear of the balance of power in Europe? Hardly, save in the half-Asiatic problems of the Balkans. What then does Hauptmann mean when he says: "Our jealous enemies forged an iron ring around our breasts, and we knew our breasts had to expand; that it had to split asunder this ring or else we had to cease breathing. But Germany will not cease to breathe, and so it came to pass that the iron ring was forced apart."

Whither is this expansion? What is that breath of life thought to be so indispensable to a great European nation?

Manifestly it is expansion over-seas—it is colonial aggrandizement which explains, and alone adequately explains the present war. How many of us today fully realize the current theory of colonial expansion—of the relation of Europe, which is white, to the rest of the world, which is black and brown and yellow? Bluntly put that

theory is this: It is the duty of white Europe to divide up the darker world and administer it for Europe's good. This Europe has largely done.

The European world is using black men and brown for all the uses which men know. Slowly but surely white culture is evolving the theory that "darkies" are born beasts of burden for white folk. It were silly to think otherwise, cries the culture world with stronger and shriller accord. The supporting arguments grow and twist themselves in the mouths of merchant, scientist, soldier, traveler, writer and missionary: Darker peoples are dark in mind as well as in body; of dark, uncertain and imperfect descent, of frailer, cheaper stuff; they are cowards in the face of mausers and maxims; they have no feelings, aspirations and loves; they are fools, unlogical idiots, "half devil and half child."

Such as they are, civilization must naturally raise them, but soberly and in limited ways. They are not simply dark white men. They are not "men" in the sense that Europeans are men. To the very limited extent of their shallow capacities lift them to be useful to whites; to raise cotton, gather rubber, fetch ivory, dig diamonds; and let them be paid what men think they are worth—white men who know them to be well-nigh worthless.

Such degrading of men by men is old as mankind and the invention of no one race or people; ever have men strove to conceive of their victims as different from the victors, endlessly different in soul and blood, strength and cunning, race and lineage. It has been left, however, to Europe and to modern days to discover the eternal world-wide mark of meanness—color.

Such is the silent revolution that has gripped modern European culture in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its zenith came in Boxer times: White supremacy was all but world-wide: Africa was dead India conquered, Japan isolated and China prostrate, while white America whetted its sword for mongrel Mexico and mulatto South America, lynching her own Negroes the while. Temporary halt in this program was made by little Japan,

and the white world immediately sensed the peril of such "yellow" presumption. What sort of a world would this be if yellow men must be treated "white?" Immediately the eventual overthrow of Japan became a subject of deep thought and intrigue from St. Petersburg to San Francisco, from the Key of Heaven to the Little Brother of the Poor!

The using of men for the benefit of masters is no new invention of modern Europe. It is quite as old as the world. But Europe is proposing to apply it on a scale and with an elaborateness of detail of which no former world ever dreamed. The imperial width of the thing—the heaven-defying audacity makes its modern newness.

The scheme of Europe was no sudden invention but a way out of long, pressing difficulties. It is plain to modern white civilization that the subjection of the white working classes cannot much longer be maintained. Education, political power and increased knowledge of the technique and meaning of the industrial process is destined to make a more and more equitable distribution of wealth in the near future. The day of the very rich is drawing to a close so far as individual white nations are concerned. But there is a loophole. There is a chance for exploitation on an immense scale; for inordinate profit, not simply to the very rich, but to the middle class and the laborers. This chance lies in the exploitation of darker peoples. It is here that the Golden Hand still beckons; there are no labor unions or votes or questioning onlookers or inconvenient consciences. There men may be used down to the bone and shot and maimed in "punitive" expeditions when they revolt; in these dark lands "industrial development" may repeat in exaggerated form every horror of the industrial history of Europe from slavery and rape to disease and maiming with only one test of success: dividends.

This theory of human culture and its aims has worked itself through warp and woof of our daily thought with a thoroughness that few realize. Everything great, good, efficient, fair and honorable is "white." Everything mean, bad, blundering, cheating and dishonorable is "yellow," brown and black. The changes on this theme are contin-

ually rung in picture and story, in newspaper heading and moving picture, in sermon and school book until, of course, the king can do no wrong—a white man is always right, and the black has no rights which a white man is bound to respect.

There must come the necessary despisings and hatreds of these savage half men, this unclean canaille of the world—these dogs of men. All through the world this gospel is preaching; it has its literature, it has its priests, it has its secret propaganda and above all—it pays.

There's the rub: It pays. Rubber, ivory and palm oil; tea, coffee and cocoa; bananas, oranges and other fruit; cotton, gold and copper—they and a hundred other things which dark and sweating bodies hand up to the white world from their pits of slime pay and pay well; but of all that world the black world gets only the pittance that the white wealth throws it disdainfully.

Small wonder then, in the practical world of things-that-be, there is jealousy and strife for the possession of the labor of dark millions—for the right to bleed and exploit the colonies of the world where this golden stream may be had, not always for the asking, but surely for the whipping and shooting. It is this competition for the labor of yellow, brown and black folk that is the cause of the present world war.

Other causes have been glibly given and other contributing causes there doubtless are, but they are subsidiary to this, subordinate to this vast quest of the dark world's wealth and toil.

Colonies we call them, these places where "niggers" are cheap and earth is rich; they are those out-lands where like a swarm of hungry locusts white masters may settle to be served as kings; may wield the lash of slave drivers, may rape girls and wives, grow rich as Croesus and send homeward a golden stream. They belt the earth, these places, but they cluster in the tropics with its darkened peoples: in Hong Kong and Anam, in Borneo and Rhodesia, in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, in Panama and Havana—these are the El Dorados toward which the world powers stretch itching palms.



Germany, at last one and united, secure on land, looked across the seas and saw England with such sources of wealth insuring a luxury and power which Germany could not hope to rival by the slower processes of exploiting her own peasants and workingmen, especially with these workers half in revolt. Immediately Germany builds her navy and enters into a desperate competition for possession of colonies of darker peoples. To South America, to China, to Africa, to Asia Minor, she turns like a hound quivering on the leash, impatient, suspicious, irritable with blood-shot eyes and dripping fangs, ready for the awful word. England and France crouch watchfully above their bones growling and wary, but gnawing industriously while the blood of the dark world whets their greedy appetites. In the back ground, shut out from the feast and from the highway to the Seven Seas, sit Russia and Austria, snarling and snapping at each other and at the last Mediterranean gate to El Dorado where the Sick Man enjoys bad health.

The fateful day came. It had to come. The cause of war is preparation for war, and of all that Europe has done in a century there is nothing that has equaled in energy, thought and time her preparation for wholesale murder. The only adequate cause of this preparation was conquest and conquest not in Europe, but primarily among the darker peoples of Asia and Africa; conquest not for assimilation and uplift, but for commerce and degradation. For this, and this mainly, has Europe girded herself at frightful cost for war.

The red day dawned when the tinder was lighted in the Balkans and Austro-Hungary seized a bit which brought her a step nearer the World's Highway; seized one bit and poised herself for another. Then came that curious chorus of challenges, those leaping suspicions, raking all causes for distrust and rivalry and hatred, but saying little of the present and greatest cause.

Each nation felt its deep interests involved. But how? Not surely in the death of Ferdinand the Warlike; not surely in the old half forgotten *revanche* for Alsace-Lorraine, not even in the neutrality of Belgium. No! But

in the possession of lands overseas; in the right to colonies, the chance to levy endless tribute on the darker world, on coolies in China, on starving peasants of India, on black savages of Africa, on dying South Sea Islanders, on Indians of the Amazon—all this and nothing more.

Even the broken reed on which we had rested high hopes of eternal peace—the guild of the laborers, the front of that very movement for human justice on which we builded most—even this flew like a straw before the breath of king and kaiser. Indeed, the flying had been foreshadowed when in Germany and America “International” Socialists had all but read yellow and black men out of the kingdom of industrial justice. Subtly had they been bribed but effectively: Were they not lordly whites and should they not share in the spoils of rape? High wages in the United States and England might be the skillfully manipulated result of slavery in Africa and peonage in Asia.

Why must entrance on world markets depend so largely on owning “colonies” and dominating weaker countries? Why not freedom of world-trade and open markets? ‘Because one can do with one’s own and in the darkness what cannot be done in open concert of nations with the flare of publicity and maudlin philanthropy. Who asked or knew what went on in German South West Africa a few years ago? Who for twenty years dreamed of the hell in Belgian Congo? How easily the shame of the diamond mines of South Africa escapes notice. Then too, with open competition, the best might win—the best employer, the highest bidder, the fairest payer; this did not suit national selfishness. With the dog in-the-manger theory of trade, with the determination to reap inordinate profits and to exploit the weakest to the utmost, there came the new imperialism, the rage for one’s own nations to own the earth, or at least a large enough portion to insure as big profits as the next nation. Where sections could not be owned by one dominant nation there came a policy of “Open Door,” but the “Door” was open “to white people only.” As to the darkest and weakest people there was but one unanimity in Europe—that which Herr Dernberg of the German Co-

lonial Office calls the agreement with England to maintain white "prestige" in Africa—the doctrine of the divine right of whites to steal.

Thus the world market most wildly and desperately sought today is the market where labor is cheapest and most helpless and profit most abundant. This labor is kept cheap and helpless because the white world despises "darkies." If one has the temerity to suggest that these workingmen may walk the way of white workingmen and climb by votes and self-assertion and education to the rank of men, he is howled out of court. They cannot do it and if they could they shall not, for they are the enemies of the white race and the whites shall rule forever and forever everywhere! Thus hatred and despising of human beings from whom Europe wishes to extort her luxuries had led to such jealousy and bickering between European nations that they have fallen afoul of each other and are fighting today like crazed beasts. Such is the fruit of human hatred.

But what of the darker world that watches? Most men belong to this world. With Negro and Negroid, East Indian, Chinese and Japanese they form two-thirds the population of the world. A belief in humanity is a belief in colored men. If the uplift of mankind must be done by men then the destinies of this world will rest ultimately in the hands of darker nations.

What then, is this dark world thinking? It is thinking that wild and awful as this shameful war is *it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease. The dark world is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it has to and not one moment longer.*

Let me say this again and emphasize it and leave no room for mistaken meaning: This world war is primarily the jealous and avaricious struggle for the largest share in exploiting darker races. As such it is and must be but prelude to the armed and the indignant protest of these despised and raped peoples. Today Japan is hammering on the

door of Justice; China is raising her half-manacled hands to knock next; India is writhing for the freedom to knock; Egypt is sullenly muttering; the Negroes of South and West Africa, of the West Indies and the United States are just awakening to their shameful slavery. Is then this war the end of war? Can it be the end so long as its prime cause, the despising and robbery of darker peoples sits enthroned even in the souls of those who cry peace? So if Europe hugs this delusion then this is not the end of world war—it is the beginning.

We see Europe's greatest sin precisely where we find Africa's and Asia's, in human hatred—the despising of men. With this difference, however: Europe has the awful lesson of the past before her, has the splendid results of widened areas of tolerance, sympathy and love among men, and she faces a greater, an infinitely greater world of men than any preceding civilization ever faced.

It is curious to see America, the United States, looking on herself as a sort of natural peacemaker in this terrible time. No nation is less fitted. For two or more centuries she has marched proudly in the van of human hatred. She makes bonfires of human flesh and laughs at it hideously. She makes the insulting of millions more than a matter of dislike—it becomes a great religion, a world war cry: Up white, down black; to your tents, O white folk and world war with black and parti-colored mongrel beasts! Instead of standing as a great example of the success of democracy and the possibility of human brotherhood America has taken her place as an awful example of its pitfalls and its failures, especially so far as black and yellow and brown people are concerned. And this too, in spite of the fact that there was no actual failure; the Indian is not dying out, the Japanese and Chinese have not menaced the land, and the experiment of Negro suffrage has resulted in the uplift of ten million people at a rate probably unparalleled in history. But what of this? America, land of democracy, wanted to believe in the failure of democracy so far as darker peoples were concerned. Absolutely without excuse she established a caste system, rushed into preparation

for war and conquered tropical colonies. She stands to-day shoulder to shoulder with Europe in Europe's worst sins against civilization. She aspires to sit among the great nations who arbitrate the fate of "lesser breeds without the law" and she is at times heartily ashamed even of the large number of "new" white people whom her democracy has admitted to place and power. Against this surging forward of Irish and German, of Russian Jew, Slav and "dago" her social bars have not availed, but against Negroes she can and does take her unflinching and immovable stand, backed by this new public policy of Europe. She trains her immigrants to this despising of "niggers" from the day of their landing, and they carry and send the news back to the submerged classes of their fatherlands.

I shall never forget a meeting of the New York Peace Society in the Hotel Astor at the outbreak of war in the Balkans. Contempt for the weaker, lesser, blacker peoples sat enthroned. All that the society asked for was peace among the big dogs of the white world while they hunted the lesser ones. "We want peace," said a distinguished president, known in all lands as peacemaker, "for nations that deserve peace;" and the audience wildly applauded the war paean of a Servian "prince."

It was symptomatic. Peace among the mighty and let the lesser peoples writhe. So today. 'To many it is not war that alarms them; but the fact that those whites who should fight blacks are fighting each other.

The cause of war is preparation for war. Preparation for war has no reason today but greed. Greed sends Europe as a thief in the night to the homes of the darker peoples. They writhe in impotent agony; but the escape of Japan, and the rise of India and the unrest of Africa and black America all give hope of real peace: of peace built on world democracy, of equality of men of all races and color, and the damnation of all industrial organizations built on theft.

Above the smoke of battle, Brothers, looms a great hope. Is it your hope? I do not know. But it is my hope and it says: "Ho! *everyone* that thirsteth—come ye to the waters—"

white and black, yellow and brown, rich and poor, ugly and beautiful. If you do not want living waters of life free for these, brothers, you do not want peace—you love war. Of such is the culture of white folk; the will of the world is not so.

## ARMENIA, HER CULTURE AND ASPIRATIONS

*By Arshag Mahdesian, Editor of "The New Armenia"*

### I

A village parson, upon being asked, "What is an octogenarian?" answered meditatively: "I don't know what they are, but they must be awfully sickly; you never hear of 'em but they are dying." A similar thought is probably awakened in the mind of the average American concerning the Armenians, of whom one seldom hears unless they are massacred by the Turks. There are even prominent American journalists, clergymen, professors, and statesmen who still either regard the Armenians as "Christianized Turks," or confuse them with Arminians—the followers of the Dutch theologian Arminius. Yet, the Armenians, as the protagonists of western ideals, and as the first nation to embrace Christianity, have rendered remarkable services to civilization.

The Armenians belong to the Indo-European family of mankind. They have been depicted by impartial observers as intellectually, morally, and physically superior to most of the races surrounding them, or as "the Anglo-Saxons of the Orient."

Dr. Andrew D. White, President Emeritus of Cornell University, and late Ambassador to Germany, says:

The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities. For ages they have maintained their civilization under oppression that would have crushed almost any other people. The Armenian is one of the finest races in the world. If I were asked to name the most desirable races to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first the Armenian.

Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, Constantinople, lauds the Armenians as "a noble race;" and Dr. A. E. Winship, editor of the *Journal of Education*,

declares that, in the fibre of the Armenian character are the germs of industry, genius and thrift."

"It would be difficult," thinks Lord Byron "to find in the annals of a nation less crime than in those of the Armenians, whose virtues are those of peace and whose vices are the result of the oppression they have undergone."

Lamartine calls the Armenians "The Swiss of the East." Viscount Bryce writes concerning the Armenians:

Among all those who dwell in western Asia they stand first, with a capacity for intellectual and moral progress, as well as with a natural tenacity of will and purpose beyond that of all their neighbors—not merely of Turks, Tartars, Kurds, and Persians, but also of Russians. They are a strong race, not only with vigorous nerves and sinews, physically active and energetic, but also of conspicuous brain power.

Lord Cromer, speaking of different nationalities in modern Egypt, vouches that

The Armenians, more than any other people, have attained the highest administrative ranks and have at times exercised a decisive influence on the conduct of public affairs in Egypt.

Lord Carnarvon asserts that "The Armenians in intellectual power are equal to the Greeks;" and H. F. B. Lynch considers them "peculiarly adapted to be the intermediaries" between Europe and Asia. He adds:

If I were asked what characteristics distinguish the Armenians from other Orientals, I should be disposed to lay most stress on a quality known in popular speech as *grit*. It is this quality to which they owe their preservation as a people, and they are not surpassed in this respect by any European nation. Their intellectual capacities are supported by a solid foundation of character, and, unlike the Greeks, but like the Germans, their nature is averse to superficial methods; they become absorbed in their tasks and plumb them deep.

Herr Haupt, a German scholar, in his book entitled, "*Armenia's Past and Present*," writes:

The more we fathom their distant past, the more we begin to realize the constructive and enlightening rôle played by the Armenians in the world history of civilization.

Professor K. Roth says in "*Armenien und Deutschland*:"



The importance of the Armenian people is often ignored. The Armenians have played in antiquity, and more especially in the Middle Ages, an important rôle. As a factor of civilization in the Orient, the Armenian is more important than is generally realized. The Armenians are, without doubt, intellectually the most awake amongst all the people that inhabit the Ottoman Empire. They are superior to Turks and Kurds.

## II

According to Movses Khorenatzi, the great epic historian of the Armenians, the first chieftain of Armenia was Haik, "the robust hero of noble stature, with wavy hair, sparkling eyes, brave and renowned amongst the giants," who vanquished the Tyrant Belus of Babylonia and occupied a vast territory extending from the Caspian to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and from Pontus to the boundaries of Assyria. The appellations of Haik, *Hais*; Haiasdan, the country of Hai; and Haieren, the language of Hai, used by the Armenians to designate themselves, their land, and their language, may have inspired Khorenatzi to create an eponymous hero,—Haik.

The Armenian plateau is described in the Annals of Assyria as the land of Nairi, whose cantons coalesced in the ninth century B. C. into the powerful Kingdom of Urartu. The Biblical references to the Kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, ostensibly relate to Armenia. It was to Armenia that the sons of Sennacherib fled after slaying their father.

It is claimed, however, that the inhabitants of the kingdom about Lake Van, known to the ancient Hebrews as Ararat, and to the Assyrians as Urartu, were Hittites. The Armenians, an Aryan people, invaded Ararat and the adjoining country and assimilated the original inhabitants. Luschan maintains that the Armenians are the descendants, very little modified, of the Chaldeans.

The word Armina (old Persian *Armaniya*, Persian *Armenia*), first appears in the famous inscription of Behistoun, 518 B. C., and was thought to have been derived from Aram, the seventh and the most illustrious king of the Haik dynasty. Historical researches of later date, however, represent Armenia as *Ar*, land; *Meni*, mountain,—*the*

*land of mountains.* This etymological solution, also, may prove conjectural. But whatever the meaning of Armenia the land is unquestionably mountainous, with a mineral wealth of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, marble, saltpetre, quicksilver and sulphur.

Above the huge tableland of Armenia, varying in elevation from 6,000 to 7,000 feet, rise massive and steep ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains, culminating in the famous Mount Ararat, 17,000 feet high, famed as the resting place of Noah's Ark. Between these ranges lie deep gorges and valleys, interspersed with areas of pasture lands. This extensive plateau is watered by the Choruk, the Euphrates, the Kur and the Aras rivers. There are extensive lakes. Lake Van, 5,100 feet above sea level, with an area of approximately 1,300 square miles, six times as large as the Lake of Geneva, is the most important inland water. On the plateaus where low temperatures prevail there are but steppes. In the valleys, where the temperature rises very high, grow plane-trees, poplars, peach, mulberry, rice, melons, olives, figs, grapes, tobacco and cotton.

Armenia, at the period of her greatest territorial extent, was included between the parallels of 37° 30' to 41° 45' north latitude and the meridians of 37° to 49° east longitude, and comprised 500,000 square miles, embracing the north-east corner of Asiatic Turkey, viz., Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Harpoot, Sivas, and Cilicia; Transcaucasia, viz., Erivan, Elizabetopol, and the territory of Kars; and the north-west corner of Persia, viz., the province of Azerbaijan, with a population of about 30,000,000. This was under the reign of Tigranes II.

### III

Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek writer, 175 B. C., affirms that the Armenians lived twenty centuries before Christ, and in an expedition against that powerful maritime people the Phoenicians, conquered them, and captured many prisoners, among whom was the nephew of Abraham; and an Irish publicist claims that at the time of Phoenician

commerce with the West, Armenian traders were among them,—that every Irish name one meets ending in *an*, such as Brian, O'Callaghan, Sheridan, as well as the Cornish names of Trevelyan, Tressilian, and others, are but the remains of the Armenian termination *ian*.

The Armenian King Hurachia is alleged to have assisted Nebuchadnezzar in the capture of Jerusalem, 600 B. C., and King Tigranes I is said to have allied with Cyrus in the overthrow of Babylon (538). And it was Zarmair who took part in the Homeric conflicts against Troy.

The Armenians, however, attained the zenith of their military glory under the reign of Tigranes II, surnamed the Great, 94–56 B. C., who by successful military efforts extended his power in all directions. He founded a new Royal City, Tigranocerta, modeling it on Nineveh and Babylon. “Tigranes made the Republic of Rome tremble before his prowess,” writes Cicero; and, according to Plutarch, Lucullus said:

It is but a few days' journey from the country of the Gabiri or Sebastia into Armenia, where Tigranes, King of Kings, is seated upon his throne, surrounded with the power that wrested Asia from the Parthians; that carried Grecian colonies into Media, and subdued Syria and Palestine.

Rome could not brook Tigranes, and finally overthrew him. In deference to his valor, however, Tigranes, under the tutelage of Rome, was permitted to remain on the Armenian throne.

In later years Armenia was overtrodden by Persians, Romans and Greeks. After the fall of the Bagratid dynasty the Armenian nobles took refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Taurus Mountains (Cilicia). Here, in 1080, Reuben founded the Kingdom of Armenia Minor, that might have fared more fortunately had not her government and people spontaneously and generously championed the Crusaders. Pope Gregory XIII writes in his Bull, *Ecclesia Romana* of the year 1384:

Among the other merits of the Armenian nation to the Church and to the Christian Republic, this in particular is eminent and

deserves special remembrance—that when the princes and the armies of Christendom were on their way to the Holy Land, no nation and no people more promptly and more zealously than the Armenians rendered its aid in men, in horse, in arms, in food, in counsel; in a word, with all their strength, with the greatest fervor and fidelity, the Armenians assisted the Christians in these Holy Wars.

But when the Crusades failed, and the Mohammedan fury burst over Armenia Minor, Europe remained indifferent. Sis, the Capital of Armenia Minor, was captured in 1375, and the independence of Armenia came to an end. Her last King, Leo VI, visited the courts of England and France trying in vain to establish an *entente cordiale* between them, with a view to enlisting their help for the re-establishment of the Armenian State. He died in 1393, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Denis, Paris.

#### IV

The Armenians embraced Christianity very early. Tertullian maintains that “the people of the name of Christ” were found in Armenia before the middle of the Third Century; and Eusebius mentions there the existence of “brethren.” If the Greek Church claims Orthodoxy; the Roman, Catholicity; the Armenian Church is entitled to Apostolicity, as the Apostles Thaddeus, Bartholomew, and Jude preached Christianity and suffered martyrdom in Armenia. Through the efforts of Gregory the *Illuminator*, Christianity was made, by the royal edict of King Tiridates, the national religion of Armenia, in 301. The Emperor Constantine merely followed the example of the Armenian king when, in 313, he proclaimed Christianity as the State religion of Byzantium.

How deeply the Armenian soul had become imbued with Christianity can be attested by the subsequent national martyrology. When, in the middle of the fifth century, the Persians essayed, first by promises and then by force, to have the Armenians embrace fire-worship, they entirely failed. The Armenians retorted:

From this faith, no force can move us,—neither angels nor men; neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor any deadly punishment. . . . If you leave us our faith, we shall accept no other lord in place of you; but we shall accept no God in place of Christ. If after this great confession, you ask anything more of us, lo! our lives are in your power. From you, torments; from us, submission; your sword, our necks. We are no better than those who have gone before us, who sacrificed their wealth and their lives for this testimony!

In the memorable Battle of Avarair, May 26, 451, known as the Armenian Marathon, 66,000 Armenians confronted 220,000 Persians. Their leader, Vartan Mamigonian, perished like a Judas Maccabæus. But "The Angel of Martyrdom is brother to the Angel of Victory;" a Persian general was so impressed by the tenacious resistance of the Armenians, that he exclaimed: "These people have put on Christianity not like a garment, but like their flesh and blood. Men who do not dread fetters nor fear torments, nor care for their property, and who above all choose death rather than life—who can stand against them?" And the Chief of the Magi, accompanying the general, reported to the Persian King: "Even if the immortals aid us, it will be impossible to establish Mazdaism in Armenia."

Since the days of Avarair, whenever the alternative offered the Armenians has been apostacy or the sword, they have always thundered as did a young Armenian nobleman in the presence of the Mohammedan ruler Yusouf: "We are Christians; we believe in God Who dwells in the midst of Light illimitable."

During the recent Turkish atrocities, many thousands of Armenians who were immolated for their Christian faith could have easily saved themselves by merely pronouncing the formula of Islam and abjuring Christ. They preferred, instead, to suffer fiendish indignities at the hands of the blood-besotted and vice-crazed Turks and to die like martyrs. Lord Bryce said:

Of the seven or eight hundred thousand Armenians who have perished in the recent massacres, many thousands have died as martyrs, by which I mean they have died for their Christian faith when they could have saved their lives by renouncing it.

This has perhaps not been realized even by those who in Europe or America have read of and been horrified by the wholesale slaughter and hideous cruelties by which half of an ancient nation has been exterminated. They can hardly understand how there should be religious persecution in our time.

The Armenian National Church has been distinguished for its spirit of tolerance. Sir Edwin Pears writes:

The Armenians, have been more open-minded than any other of the Christian races . . . in reference to matters of religion. The Greeks will not tolerate a Roman Catholic or a Protestant missionary. But while the Armenian is proud of his *millet* and does not look kindly on a man who changes his religion, he does not consider that it should prevent him inquiring into the truth of other forms of Christianity, or adopting them if he likes. In the sixteenth century the Armenian Church dignitaries corresponded with Erasmus and Melancthon and other reformers. . . .

With their passion for simplicity, the Armenians have preserved the real spirit of Christianity in their Church. J. S. Stuart-Glennis writes:

It was Armenian missionaries—the Paulician heretics—who sowed in Europe the seeds of its reformation. And in the sixteenth century, that order of the Jesuits called into existence by the success of the Reformation, sent missionaries to Armenia, and carried into the birthland of Protestantism the revenge of Catholicism.

The broad, democratic basis upon which the Armenian Church rests can be best understood by the method of electing the Supreme Primate, or Catholicos, of the Armenian Church, whose seat has, since 309, been at Etchmiadzin, that, with its Supreme Synod, Theological Seminary, and Cathedral, corresponds to the Vatican.

Upon a vacancy of the Throne of the Catholicos, the Supreme Synod issues invitations to all Armenian dioceses, whether in Russia, Turkey, Persia or elsewhere, calling upon them each to name two deputies, one clerical and one lay, who after the lapse of a year shall repair to Etchmiadzin and cast their votes. These deputies, should they be unable to attend in person, may signify their vote by letter. The ordinaries of the Armenian Church, also, are elected by diocesan councils, six-sevenths of whose members are laymen.

## V

On account of the fluctuating fortune of their temporal power, the Armenians regard their Church not merely a spiritual citadel, but the focus of national aspirations and learning. The Catholicos St. Sahak (353-439) essayed to revive a purely national literature. His difficulties were almost insuperable, as the Armenians lacked an alphabet of their own. But his friend and collaborator, Bishop Mesrop, after long and painstaking labors, succeeded in devising an alphabet (404). It consists of thirty-six characters, "A Waterloo of Alphabet" in the poetic diction of Lord Byron, who studied Armenian at the famous Armenian Mekhitarist Convent, St. Lazare, Venice (1816-1818), and recommended it as "a rich language" that "would amply repay any one the trouble of learning it.

The Armenian belongs to the Indo-European group of languages. Many Armenian words are from the same root as the English, *viz.*, eye, *ag*; foot, *vod*; mother, *mair*; daughter, *dooster*; thou, *too*; ass, *esh*; door, *toor*; hair, *heir*; son, *san*; sore, *zor*; un-, *an-*; and -tion, -*toun*, etc.

Hubschmann, Meillet, Villefroir and St. Martin have made valuable studies of the Armenian language, which has been described as "a plastic and noble language, capable of rendering faithfully, yet not servilely, the Greek Bible and Greek Fathers."

The immediate result of St. Sahak's and Bishop Mesrop's activities was an intellectual and literary revival, known as the "Golden Age of Armenian Literature." During this period many books of didactic, religious and historical character were written, and translations made from the Greek. The first book they undertook to translate was the Bible, from the Greek Septuagint. It was completed in 433, so successfully and faithfully as to be called by La Croze "The Queen of Versions." Other translations were as excellent. It is claimed that were the *Anabasis* of Xenophon lost, it could be reproduced from the Armenian version. The *Chronicles* of Eusebius, the *Homilies* of St. John Chrysostom, and two works of Philo on *Providence*, survive only in Armenian.

Although there are fragments of Armenian pagan songs preserved in the historical works of Movses Khorenatzi, the Armenian literature really begins from this period, under the dominant power of the Church. It was not until the twelfth century that the poetic spirit of the Armenians burst the ecclesiastical bonds imposed upon it. The secularization of the Armenian literature received a fresh impetus when, in 1488, about fifty years after the invention of printing by Gutenberg, Armenian emigrants, established in Venice and Amsterdam, constructed Armenian characters and began to publish the manuscripts of their great authors, and translations from the classics. Sir Henry Norman considers the ancient, mediæval and modern Armenian literature comparable with the literature of any other nation. Robert Arnot writes:

As a people the Armenians can not boast of as vast a literature as the Persians, their one-time conquerors, but that which remains of purely Armenian prose, folk-lore, and poetry tells us of a poetic race, gifted with imaginative fire, sternness of will, and persistency of adherence to old ideas, a race that in proportion to their limited production in letters can challenge comparison with any people.

Being exposed to the incessant invasions and depredations of hostile races, the Armenians never enjoyed that leisure and tranquillity of mind which are necessary for the highest artistic development. Yet, Sir Edwin Pears writes:

I believe the Armenian to be the most artistic in Turkey. Many paint well, and some have made reputations in Russia and France. Amateur painting is so general as to suggest that the race has a natural taste for Art. The picture gallery on the Island of Lazzaro at Venice contains many works of art by Armenians which won the approval of Ruskin.

H. F. B. Lynch, who visited the imposing ruins of Ani, the capital of the Bagratid Dynasty, and studied its monuments, asserts that the Armenians were the originators of the Gothic style of architecture. One of the most perfect specimens of Byzantine architecture, built in 1517-1526, at Curtea de Argesh, Rumania, was according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the work of an Armenian. It was an



Armenian architect, Sinan, who designed and built the famous Mosque of Adrianople, and the Mosque of Suleyman in Constantinople; and Armenian architects, the Balian, constructed the Palaces of Cheragan, of Beyler-bey, and of Dolma Bahché, "which might be taken," writes Theophile Gautier, "for a Venetian Palace—only richer, vaster, and more highly embellished—transported from the Grand Canal to the Banks of the Bosphorus."

## VI

Though on account of her geographical position Armenia was exposed to constant invasions, not only did she maintain her civilization and culture, but she also furnished many illustrious leaders to foreign lands.

Dadarshis, the intrepid general whom Darius Hystaspis chose to support the Achæmenidæ Dynasty, was an Armenian. So was Nerses, the valiant and the renowned, the favorite of Theodora, who rendered the armies of Justinian invincible. It was to an Armenian, Proeresios,—the teacher of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of St. Basil, and of Julian the Apostate, that Rome erected a statue with this inscription: "*Regina rerum Roma, Regi eloquentiæ.*"

Isaac, the Armenian Exarch of Ravenna, held the destiny of Italy in his hands (625–643). Herr Gelzer, an authority on Byzantine History, asserts that the period of the Armenian Emperors was the most glorious in the history of Byzantium. Armenian Emperors—Maurice, Phillippicus-Bardanes, Leo V, Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian Dynasty, John Zimisce, and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus—made Byzantium a flourishing center of civilization. Basil II, the Conqueror of Bulgaria, ended the menace of a Russian invasion, strengthened Italy against the pretensions of the German Emperor Otto II, and made of the Venetians a sure ally against the Saracens. The Armenian Empress Theodora (1042–1056) reigned with such wisdom and ensured to Byzantium such peace and prosperity, that her reign was called the *Golden Era of Augusta*.

In 1410 all the Armenian nobility fought with the armies

of Ladislaus Jagiello and contributed to the victory in the battle of Grunwaldt. "Had not," according to Polish assertions, "the hydra-head out of which was later to spring the Prussian kingdom been crushed" in this memorable battle, "the German deluge would have effaced Poland then, as it has submerged and obliterated the western Slavs on the banks of the Elbe, the Spree and the Oder. Without Grunwaldt there would have been no Poland!"

When the Turks, in 1683, besieged Vienna, the gate of Christian Europe, five thousand valiant Armenian warriors succored the army of King Sobieski, and turned the tide of battle by hurling the Moslem hordes back to the Danube.

It was the diplomacy of Israel Ori that enabled Russia to vanquish Persia. The victorious generals in the Russian army—Madatoff, Melikoff, Der Ghoukassoff, Lazareff, Baboutoff, Chelkonikoff and Alkahazoff were all Armenians. The correspondent of the London *Times* writes:

The way in which General Der Ghoukassoff conducted his men at Taghir on the 16th of June, 1877, when with his eight divisions he completely annihilated Mohammed Pasha's twelve divisions; the stubborn resistance by which, at Utch Kilisse, he stopped the advance of Moukhtar Pasha; the heroic retreat which he effected against the twenty-three divisions of Ahmet Pasha; his remarkable subsequent dashing assault on Bayazid, the defeat of the Turkish army, which was twice as strong as his own, and the relieving of the besieged place,—are such splendid feats of arms that they prove him to be a general of the highest rank.

General Melikoff was not merely a soldier, but a great administrative reformer. He drew for Russia a constitution, that Alexander II, had he not been assassinated, would have promulgated on March 1, 1881.

Nubar Pasha, the deliverer and regenerator of Egypt, and twice its Prime Minister; Prince Malcolm Khan, one of the earliest apostles of the Persian reform movement; and Eprem Khan, the hero and the martyr of the Persian revolution, whom the British Press hailed as the "Garibaldi of the East," were Armenians. Shall we mention the distinguished tragedian, Adamian, whom Russian criticism has proclaimed superior to Salvini and Rossi in the interpretation of *Hamlet*; the inimitable marine painter, Hovannes

Aivazovski; the mineralogist, Andreas Artzrouni, who enjoyed world-wide reputation; Hovannes Althen, who taught France the cultivation of *rubic tinctorum*, and whose statue stands now in the Duchy of Avignon; M. Manouelian, whose most valuable discoveries have placed him in the first rank of the histologists of our epoch; Edgar Shahin, the drypoint artist, one of the greatest, according to eminent French critics like Roger Marx and Gustave Geffroy; H. Mahokian, whose paintings have won many prizes in the Berlin Salon; Vittoria Aganoor Pompily, the lamented poetess of Italy; and M. Lucaz, the former Premier of Austria-Hungary?

The Armenians have not been less prominent in the United States: witness the late Governor Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, also at one time Secretary of the United States Treasury; the late Dr. Mihran K. Kassabian, the distinguished scientist of Philadelphia, and one of the foremost Roentgen rays investigators in the world; Dr. Menas Gregory, the eminent psychiatrist of Bellevue Hospital, New York; Mooshegh Vaygouny, a graduate of the University of California, who developed a synthetic method of converting grape sugar into tartaric acid; Mugurdich Garo, the famous photographer of Boston, unquestionably one of the greatest in America, who originated the *Garograph*; M. Mangasarian, of Chicago, the eloquent exponent of liberal thought in America; Haig Patigian, the distinguished San Francisco sculptor, who was awarded the prize for executing a monument to commemorate the rebuilding of San Francisco; and Dr. Seropian, the inventor of the green color of the American paper dollar. Even the first American soldier to land at Manila, in the Spanish-American war, was an Armenian, according to Nessib Behar, Managing Director of the National Liberal Immigration League.

## VII

In 1514 the Persians surrendered Armenia to the Turks. It may readily be surmised what the fate of the gifted and progressive Armenians would be under the dominion of a

people concerning whom the Pope, in 1456, had deemed the addition of the following invocation to the *Ave Maria* imperative: "Lord, save us from the devil, the Turk and the comet."

The Turks belong to the Turanian hordes of Central Asia. With their appearance civilization invariably vanished, in Syria, Mesopotamia, Byzantium, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, and Greece. Victor Hugo admirably describes this blighting influence of the Turks as follows: "Les Turcs ont passé là, tout est ruine et deuil." "They (the Turks) were upon the whole," declares Gladstone, "from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view." The Turk has no consanguinity with the Arab, and hence no claim upon his civilization. He is heartily despised by the Arab, one of whose bards sings:

Three things naught but evil work—  
The locust, the vermin, and the Turk.

By their Christianity and by their genius, the Armenians have been the representatives of Western civilization in Turkey. While the Turks furnish the criminals, the Armenians furnish savants, physicians, artisans and merchants. The Armenian traders in Turkey were so successful that the *Financial News*, Manchester, England, wrote several years ago: "The commerce of the future belongs to the Scotch, the Germans and the Armenians."

It was through the collaboration of two great Armenian statesmen, Odian and Servicen, that Midhat Pasha succeeded in framing the Turkish Constitution, which was proclaimed by Abd-ul-Hamid on his accession to the throne, and then prorogued.

The first newspaper ever published in Turkey, sixty-seven years ago, was an Armenian periodical. The introduction of Turkish printing and the establishment of theaters were accomplished by Armenians—Muhandisian and Chouhadjian. Were it not for Armenian philologists, like

Gurdikians, the Turks would not even have a grammar of their own language.

For many years the chief directors of the Turkish arsenals and the Government Mint were Armenians—Dadian and Duzian. The fine stuffs, the embroideries, the tapestry and the jewelry admired in Europe and America as Turkish products are almost exclusively manufactured by Armenians.

The field of activities of French, American and later German missionaries, who went to Turkey for educational and evangelical purposes, was strictly confined to the Armenian communities.

General Sherif Pasha, a Turkish exile in Paris, told the truth when declaring, as reported in the columns of the *New York Times* of October 10, 1915, that

If there is a race which has been closely connected with the Turks by its fidelity, by its services to the country, by the statesmen and functionaries of talent it has furnished, by the intelligence which it has manifested in all domains—commerce, industry, science and the arts—it is certainly the Armenian.

Dr. P. Rohrbach, the German author, confirms the same fact. He writes: "We may say without exaggeration that not only in Armenia proper, but far beyond its boundaries, the economic life of Turkey rests, in great part, upon the Armenians." And Dr. V. Rosens, a great authority on Near Eastern affairs, says in *Tägliche Rundschau*:

The Armenians, industrious, sober, and zealous, occupied principally with agriculture, with raising cattle, and with manufacturing carpet . . . can be considered the possessors of the highest civilization in Asia Minor. Thanks to their aptitude and their intelligence, the Armenians . . . occupy the highest positions in Turkey.

The whole population of the Turkish Empire is estimated at 32,000,000, of whom only 2,380,000 were Armenians. Yet the Armenians had 785 educational institutions with more than 82,000 students, whereas the Turks could not boast of more than 150 schools, with only 17,000 pupils. In order to demonstrate the economic power of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire, Marcel Léart records the fact that of 166 importers in Sivas, which has the smallest

Armenian population of the six Armenian provinces, 141 are Armenians, 13 Turks, and 12 Greeks; of 150 exporters, 127 are Armenians and 23 Turks; of 37 bankers and capitalists, 32 are Armenians and only 5 Turks; of 9800 shopkeepers and artisans, 6800 are Armenians and only 2550 Turks, the rest being divided among various other nationalities. The same is true of native industry: of 153 factories and flour mills, 130 belong to Armenians, 20 to Turks, and 3, carpet concerns, to foreign or mixed companies. The directors of all these establishments are Armenian exclusively. The number of employees is about 17,000, of whom 14,000 are Armenians, 2800 Turks, 200 Greeks and others.

The Turk, being another version of Kriloff's snake that bites the glow-worm because it is shining, massacred the Armenians. "It is absurd," confided the Mayor of Smyrna to an English traveler, "that we can govern the Armenians—a people so much abler than we."

Because the Armenians are very brave, the Turkish authorities do not permit them the possession of arms. Dr. J. Lepsius writes in his book, entitled *Armenia and Europe*, that "Christians indeed, and Christians alone, are by statute forbidden to carry arms." As an example of Armenian valor, Viscount Bryce mentions the heroic resistance of the Zeitunlis, who proudly called themselves "The British of Asia Minor—unsubdued and unsubduable." Lord Bryce writes:

These Zeitunlis had only seven or eight thousand fighting men, but the strength of their position enabled them to repel all attacks; and, like the Montenegrins, to develop a thoroughly militant type of manhood. They are a rude, stern people, with no wealth and little education, and practising no art except that of iron-working—for there is plenty of iron in the mountains that wall them in. From 1800 till now they had forty times been in conflict with the Turks; in 1836 they successfully resisted the Egyptian invaders; and in 1859 and 1862 they repulsed vastly superior Turkish armies. In 1864, by European intervention, a sort of peace was arranged, and in 1878 a fort was erected, and the people were obliged to admit a Turkish garrison, which in 1895 was 600 strong. The Zeitunlis had laid in a stock of grain in anticipation of a general attack by Turks upon Christians, and had for some little while noticed that arms were being distributed by the Turkish officials among the Moslems. When

the massacres began in Northern Syria in November, 1895, they perceived that they would be the next victims, rose suddenly, and besieged the garrison. After three days the Turks, whose water supply had been cut off, surrendered. The Armenians, disarming them and arming themselves with the rifles which they found in the arsenal, had also weapons enough to supply some of the neighboring villages, and were able to take the field against the Turkish army which was advancing against them, and which is said to have been at times 60,000 strong. They repulsed the Turks, with great loss, in a series of hard-fought fights, and kept them at bay till February, 1896. Through the mediation of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, terms of peace were arranged in pursuance of which the siege was raised, and no fresh garrison placed in the town. The most perilous moment had been one when, the fighting men being all absent, the imprisoned Turkish soldiers had risen and sought to set fire to the town. The women, however, proved equal to the occasion. They fell upon the Turks and saved the town.

When, just prior to the deportations of 1915, Zeitun prepared to resist, the Ottoman authorities intimated to them, through the Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia, that, if they resisted, reprisals would be made upon their defenseless kinsmen in the plain. The elders of Zeitun, like the Armenian leaders throughout the empire, were determined to go almost any lengths in order to keep the peace. So the majority surrendered, and they were deported. Fifteen hundred fighting men are reported to have withdrawn to the loftier recesses of the mountains.

The chronic massacres with which, as Sir Edwin Pears has aptly remarked, the Turk has tried to maintain his supremacy ever since the capture of Constantinople, grew so appalling that Mr. E. Cantlow thus characterized the plight of the Armenians: "The very wrongs that made the French peasantry rise and in one deluge of blood sweep a corrupt aristocracy from their land are being enacted with tenfold horrors in Turkey today." Marshal von Moltke, who traveled extensively in Turkey and who was by no means a Turkophobe, asserted that security for Christians could never be had under the Turkish rulers.

Finally the constant appeals of the martyred Armenians to Christian Europe were answered by Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, that read:

The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

Furious at the Armenian temerity in demanding reforms, the Turkish government increased its persecutions and encouraged the Kurds to slay and pillage their Armenian neighbors. From 1884 to 1896 more than three hundred thousand Armenians were massacred; then followed the Adana holocaust, with a total of sixty thousand Armenian victims. And when the Young Turks entered the war in the latter part of October, 1914, Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha plotted to "solve the Armenian Question by extirpating the whole nation"—hence the deportation of the Armenians, just after the failure of the Dardanelles expedition.

But no Talaat or Enver can annihilate the Armenians, who are endowed with a wonderful power of recuperation and resiliency, and who have always arisen phoenix-like, from calamities that might have proved fatal to any other nation. The Armenians have believed that whoever create in pursuit of enlightenment and ideals, that whoever endeavors to serve the immortal gods, may be subjected to the excruciating tortures of Prometheus or may endure the sorrows of Niobe, but shall never die.

Several years ago, Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and formerly President of Euphrates College, Harpoot, Armenia, declared: "Give the Armenian capital and a righteous government and he will turn the whole of Turkey into a Garden of Eden in ten years."

In the past this people of remarkable potentialities has been offered fire and sword; it is entitled now to an opportunity for achievement—viz., to the enjoyment of the completest autonomy.

Before the recent Armenian calamity, there were 4,160,000 Armenians. The Turkish Empire contained 2,380,000



Russia, 1,500,000; the United States, 100,000; Persia, 64,000; Egypt, 40,000; India, 20,000; Austria-Hungary, 20,000; Bulgaria, 20,000; Rumania, 8000; Europe and Cyprus, 8000. Therefore, we shall have enough Armenians to populate the New Armenian State, that must include Van, Erzerum, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Sivas, Harpoot and Cilicia, with the Ararat enclave.

The Allies, who, according to the declaration of former Premier Asquith to Professor Masaryk, of London, England, are "fighting first and foremost for the liberties of small nations," must create an autonomous Armenian State. By this act of Righteousness and Justice the Allies will have performed their duty toward Humanity and Civilization, remembering the dictum of Gladstone, that "to serve Armenia is to serve civilization."

## PSYCHIC FACTORS IN THE NEW AMERICAN RACE SITUATION

*By George W. Ellis, K.C., F.R.G.S.*

The race question is the most important social situation with which the American people have had to deal. Like a cancer it has gnawed at the very vitals of American social culture and institutions. It imperilled the adoption of the American constitution. It menaced the concord and co-operation of the Northern and Southern states for three-quarters of a century. And finally with such violence it attacked the life and perpetuity of the American Union that an operation was unavoidable, and for its extirpation the country was thrown into one of the greatest civil wars of modern times. And notwithstanding the great individual and national pain, suffering and sacrifice which attended the operation, the injustice and evil of American race subjection and slavery were so enormous and far-reaching, that the race question lingers with us still, in violent antagonism to the ideals of the founders of the American nation and as an open and avowed enemy of the principles of true democracy.

### NEW SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH

Although after the Civil War the Negro people were made citizens and secured in their personal freedom by federal constitutional enactment, and the states were prohibited from discriminating against citizens on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, yet in certain Southern states, by force or fraud, the governments have been seized by the leaders of the white race and a new system of race subjection and slavery has been fastened upon the Negro people and finally given the sanction of public law.

Embittered toward the North because of defeat in arms and the loss of hundreds of millions in the freedom of the slaves, and further embittered by the new spectacle of the Negro in the rôle of citizen and freeman, with all the rights by law of other citizens, the whites of the South resolved to secure at any cost the complete control of the Southern state governments and to use the functions of government to force the Negro people as near as possible to serve the whites in the new condition of emancipation as they did under the old system of slavery.

In this new program of race subjection and slavery of the Negro, as soon as the whites obtained control of the state governments, they proceeded to eliminate the Negro from politics by either intimidation, force or fraud, until finally the North could be convinced of Southern justification under the peculiar conditions supposed to be known only to the Southern people, when they perpetuated their anti-Negro political plans by legislative and constitutional provisions.

Having deprived the Negro in the South in certain states of the privilege and right to vote and hold office in the state governments, Southern whites continued to protest through their senators and congressmen at Washington and their anti-Negro propaganda through the press until it was finally accepted as the policy to be adopted that the Negro should not henceforth be appointed to any Federal position in the South against the wishes of the whites, sure to object.

A citizen without the ballot is like a soldier without arms. Armed with all the powers of all the branches of the state governments and having deprived the Negro of the privilege to vote, Southern whites continued their assault upon the Negro disarmed as a freeman and continued in their work to fix by force and law a subject and slave status for the Negro in Southern States.

Under this new slave régime the education of the Negro has been seriously affected. From the South efforts were made to discourage the North in giving funds for the education of the Negro children. By law attempts have been

made to prohibit whites from teaching Negro pupils. The facilities of schools for Negro children are inferior to those for whites and the terms are often shorter outside of the large cities. It is the purpose to give to the Negro just such education as will enable the race to best serve the whites and as will keep the Negro satisfied in his new status of semi-serfdom.

The idea of education for truth, virtue, development, freedom and service and for one's highest and best contribution to society, as applied to the Negro, has little or no place in general Southern educational polity. The dominant idea for Negro education South is such as will best fit him to obey and serve the white race, with all its inherited and acquired psychic antipathy and sociological prejudice against the darker races.

By law or public opinion the Negro of the South is separated by what are called "Jim Crow Cars" with indecent and inferior accommodations. He is denied service as other citizens at places of public entertainment and amusement upon any terms. Without the privilege to vote, to sit upon the jury or to be represented in the government in any way the Negro in the South has been reduced to that social and political plane, where he and his family and property are only safe so long as the white race feels that he is in the special and inferior sphere prepared for all Negroes without regard to character, culture, intellect or attainments.

With possibly the exception of the tariff interests, the old slave system grew to be the most powerful economic institution in the history of the country. It was developed, maintained and fought for because of the economic profits which it yielded together with the social ease, comfort and power which it afforded to the master classes. For similar reasons the white South has built a new system of race subjection and slavery upon the backs of the Negroes.

That the Southern whites have adopted this new system because of prejudice is giving away to the view that they have been more influenced by ideas of economic profit and

social ease and advantage. This view is strengthened by the fact that the whites have no objection to the Negro as a servant on the surface and railroad cars or in hotels and other public places; the objection to him is as an independent and free agent, without the badge of subserviency and inferiority.

Inter-marriage between the races is prohibited by law, yet the two million or more mulattoes in the country ought to be sufficient to show that the white man has no natural antipathy against the Negro woman but he seeks by law to shield himself against any wrong inflicted upon her, under the guise that he seeks to protect the white woman from the Negro man. The protection of the white women by the Negro men during the war, when the white men were at the front, is the best proof that the white woman needs no such special protection from the Negro man as is indicated by this class of legislation. The purpose of this legislation, therefore, is not to protect the white woman but to degradize by law unnecessarily the Negro man and to exempt the white man from the natural and moral consequences of his too frequent association with Negro women.

This Southern race program includes the subordination of the Negro in every sphere of life and social activity to that of the white race. Having accomplished this in public sentiment, wherever necessary, this public sentiment has taken the form of law.

#### PSYCHIC INFLUENCE OF NEGRO PROGRESS

Notwithstanding the fact that a new system of slavery by law was being fixed upon the Negro by the South, the Negro renewed his faith and has made a steady march of social progress since 1866.

Starting with practically nothing in fifty years the Negro has accumulated over \$1,000,000,000; has acquired and conducts 45,000 places of business; operates 981,000 farms; and has bought and owns 600,000 homes.

In education he has reduced his illiteracy from 90 per cent to 25 per cent; has increased his colleges and normal

schools from 15 to 500 and public school students from 100,000 to 1,736,000, a gain of over a million and a half. For the higher education of the Negro, the property has increased from \$60,000 to \$21,500,000; the expenditures for Negro education increased from \$700,000 to \$14,600,000 and for his own education in 1916 he raised the sum of \$1,600,000.

In religion the Negro increased his churches from 700 to 42,000, church communicants from 600,000 to 4,570,000, with some 43,000 Sunday Schools, containing 2,400,000 pupils and with a total valuation of Negro church property of \$76,000,000.

With 36,000 teachers in Negro schools and the colleges and universities of the North open to their admission for the most part, in medicine, law and theology, in science, art and literature and other walks of American life, the Negro has produced a splendid array of leaders and professional men, some of whom have become as eminent and as distinguished as any in their sphere of thought and action.

In oratory and statesmanship Frederick Douglass had few equals in American life. During his life Paul Lawrence Dunbar was the most popular of American singers. William Stanley Braithwaite is among the foremost of American poetical critics. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was perhaps first among British composers and musicians of the day. Dr. Edward Wilmot Byden and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois are both recognized as world scholars. As an analytical interpreter of men, thought and things, who in America is the superior of Prof. Kelly Miller. In painting Henry O. Tanner is first among American painters of today. In industrial education Dr. Booker T. Washington had no rival throughout the world.

The great masses of all races have never risen above the mere struggle for bread. Races must be judged by their great men. Through the centuries the white race can boast of but one Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, one Dante, Shakespeare and Milton, one Darwin, Huxley or Edison or Spencer. The masses of the whites can no more attain the heights of these men than can the masses of the blacks or

browns. They illustrate not racial attainment, but human possibilities.

Southern leaders are very inventive in statecraft. They are the inventors of nearly every doctrine which came nearly destroying the Union. They invented the doctrine of state sovereignty, squatter sovereignty, and secession. They have likewise invented the doctrine of the Negro in his place, with its rubber meanings to be stretched as occasion may require to cover the white man's limitations in the South.

The unexpected progress of the Negro in almost every walk of life, in spite of the fact that he had been deprived of the power of the ballot, the freeman's only defense in a democracy, and all the functions of Southern States and social power were invoked to keep the Negro in the special status, called "his place," so startled Southern leaders, that they felt it necessary to resort to the savage form of lynching in a vain effort to frighten the Negro to submit without complaint to the Southern program of Negro subjection and slavery.

The result has been that the more the Negro has arisen in the scale of social development the more has he been antagonized in Southern States and the more has he felt the heavy hand of social oppression and political degradation.

The Southern program has been so thoroughly established in public opinion and law, that its advocates have expanded its influence over the country until the Northern people have practically given their consent to the exclusion of the Negro from any representation in the governments South, and to his abandonment in this helpless and defenseless state to the will of the whites, under the influence of an aristocracy founded upon race rather than upon merit and social worth.

The system of old slavery was destroyed in its efforts to cover and extend over the nation. This new slavery is now seeking to have the North adopt its attitude toward the Negro in Northern communities.

In the South two rules of private and public conduct

obtain in morals and manners; one that is right and one to be followed toward the Negro. The North has consented to this dual standard of thought and conduct South. Will it consent for its adoption by the nation?

#### PSYCHIC INFLUENCE OF WAR UPON AMERICAN RACE SITUATION

Before the beginning of the European war the increasing demand for labor for Northern capital and industry was supplied by the hundreds of thousands of foreigners who annually flocked to our shores to free themselves from the aristocratic political and economic régimes which oppress the masses in Europe.

Upon the European nations actually engaging in war this large foreign immigration to the United States suddenly ceased, and Northern capital and industry were forced to secure its labor supply from some other source. They turned to the Negro of the South, as they turned to him to subdue and develop the early American forests and fields, and as they turned to him to help save the Union when the cause seemed hopeless and lost.

As a result of this Northern economic demand the Negro population of the South is rapidly drifting to the North. According to the New York World the Negro has left the South very recently as follows: from Alabama, 60,000; Tennessee, 22,000; Florida, 12,000; Georgia, 10,000; Virginia, 3000; North Carolina, 2000; Kentucky, 3000; South Carolina, 2000; Arkansas, 2000; and Mississippi, 2000. He is still coming and if the war continues the indications are that the Negroes migrating from the South will be greater than at any time in the history of the country.

Just what will be the ultimate effect of this movement North of the Negro population is not definitely determined. It is, however, exciting both comment and great concern in both the North and the South.

On the whole the Southern people are opposed to the Negro leaving and in some cities ordinances have been passed prohibiting labor agents from operating within the



city limits. In some states the Negro is refused a ticket to the North and on occasions in other states force has been employed to prevent Negro people from leaving the state.

Yet in spite of Southern opposition the Negro is drawn North by new industrial opportunities and driven from the South by injustice, lynching and cruelty.

The *Columbia State* expresses the view of some Southern papers in their efforts to retain the Negro people when it said:

The matter is one which chiefly concerns the Southern farmers. If they stand by and tolerate the driving of the Negroes out of the South by crime and cruelty, their complaints about the loss of their labor will hardly command attention.

Every Southern lyncher is an emigration agent working effectively for Northern employers.

Very recently the increase of the Negro population attracted the attention of Chicago and the *Chicago Daily News* gave space for fourteen consecutive articles concerning the Negro population of the city, which has now been published by that paper in pamphlet form, and which is possibly only a slight indication of the real concern felt about the new Negro arrivals in the North.

In the first of these articles by Mr. Junius B. Wood he had this to say on the situation:

Point de Saible was a free colored man from Santo Domingo. Today the city which that colored man founded is one of opportunity and freedom unexcelled for the man, woman or child of the Negro race.

And in the same article he continues:

The colored portion of Chicago's population is growing more rapidly in proportion to its numbers than any other. Some persons see in it a danger to the future of the city. It is admittedly a very complex problem. The colored population is pushing out farther every day.

What the ultimate effect of this new movement of the Negro population Northward upon the Northern mind will be requires both our hope and labor. The first indications are unfavorable to both democracy and the Negro. The

white mind seems alarmed at some threatening and approaching Negro peril. There is a peril and the peril lies in the error in the white man's processes of thinking and this lack of moral foundation in his treatment and conduct toward the Negro group of the human race.

Dr. Frank U. Quillin, professor of sociology and economics at Knox College, wrote a book on *The Color Line in Ohio*, and which was published in 1913, in which he reached on the interracial situation substantially the same conclusions already independently reached by Alfred Holt Stone, of Mississippi, in his *Studies in the American Race Problem, over the country at large*.

The conclusions are:

1. "That the prejudice of the white man, against the Negro increases according to the growth of the Negro population.

2. That the average Negro is worse off in the North than in the South because he is here so completely shut off from the more advantageous industrial opportunities.

3. That social equality between the races in the North as well as in the South is a myth.

4. That civil rights for whites and Negroes in the North are the same technically, but that actual discriminations are just as numerous as in any Southern state.

5. That there is much more prejudice against the Negro race today than there was at the close of the Civil War.

6. That it is essential to the Northern man, if he would really know the truth of his own section, to get it from the lips and hearts of the colored people themselves."

Whether Professor Quillin is correct in all his conclusions is not material at this point, but we are interested in his conclusion that race prejudice increases with the growth of the Negro population.

And if the word antagonism or hostility is substituted for that of prejudice, it would seem that Professor Quillin had stated a psychological tendency obtaining in American interracial relationship and contact, which has grave concern and importance in this national interracial crisis.

In 1916 the Washington administration was very much

exercised over the question as to whether the Northern movement of Negro population was political or industrial.

The American Federation of Labor, however, seems to understand the situation thoroughly from the resolution adopted at the recent Baltimore Convention:

WHEREAS, the emigration of Southern Negroes to Northern labor centers which has occasioned anxiety on the part of the United States Department of Labor, and has occasioned anxiety on the part of the organized labor movement, because of the danger such emigration will cause the workers in the Northern states; and

WHEREAS, the investigation of such emigration and importation of Negroes into the State of Ohio has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the labor leaders in that state, that they are being brought North for the purpose of filling the places of union men demanding better conditions, as in the case of the freight handlers; and

WHEREAS, the shortage of European labor has made the Southern Negro an asset in the labor markets of the North and the conditions that prevail in Ohio may apply in all Northern States; therefore be it

*Resolved*, that this thirty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the president and executive council to inaugurate a movement looking toward the organization of these men in the Southern States, to the end that they may be instructed and educated along the lines of the trade-union movement, and thereby eliminate this menace to the workers of the Northern States.

#### CHICAGO AS INDICATION OF NEW NORTHERN ATTITUDE

That the race question is having its effect in the new situation may be noted by two recent events which occurred in Chicago. One is the case of Dr. Roscoe Giles, the other is that of Marjorie Delbridge.

In the case of Dr. Giles, a Negro physician with several degrees from Cornell, passed the civil service examination for junior physician at the Chicago tuberculosis sanitarium. He stood at the head of the list and after much objection was finally certified and appointed to the position. He was carried through the building, by Dr. Charles P. Caldwell, president of the board of directors, and after what seemed a pre-arranged demonstration of hostility by certain patients, maintained at the expense of the white and black

public, Dr. Giles was discharged without ever being permitted to enter upon his duties, for no other reason than that he was a Negro.

Just before the appointment about February 1, A.D. 1917, the *Chicago Tribune* wrote an editorial on "The Negro Physician" and among other things surrenders to color and race prejudice in these words:

There is strong presumption that Dr. Giles is a capable and thoroughly trained physician. He holds several degrees from Cornell University. He passed the civil service examination. His capabilities has little to do with the situation. His color has created it. If there were the slightest hope or expectation that insistence upon his appointment would in any degree overcome the repugnance of white for colored, the administration's adherence to equal rights might be justified. There is no such hope. Dr. Giles in the hospital will bring nothing but inflamed race prejudice on one side and hurt feelings on the other. Principles or not, such is the fact.

Here is the spectacle of a great daily newspaper in Chicago criticising the government of the city for adherence to legal rights for citizens of Illinois and residents of Chicago, and declaring that color is a sufficient bar to holding certain positions and more important than the qualifications.

How rapidly this paper is drifting toward Southern views is further disclosed in its editorial of January 17, A.D. 1917:

An intelligent majority of the North can be relied upon to defend the South from colored domination. There ought to be a more energetic coöperation to try to work out for the colored American a special status in which at least during what may be called his political and social minority, he could be protected in his civil rights and assured conditions of development, though not granted the political privilege which would make him in his present condition a weight upon Southern progress and a cause of anxiety or race feeling. The political genius of America ought to be able to work out such a compromise.

The Negro is not a weight upon the progress of the South; his labor and his industry made the South what it is; take it away and the South would decline and decay, until the Negro was replaced by people not too proud to work.

The Southern whites in the main do have great anxiety about the Negro. They are very uneasy that something

may take him away from the South and they will be obliged to lose the profits of his labor and be compelled to work for themselves.

On February 5, A.D. 1917, the *Chicago Herald* indorsed the discharge of Dr. Giles. Will the North adopt the new slavery of the South based upon race and color? The *Herald* made this answer in the Giles case:

Obviously Dr. Giles as the high man was entitled to favorable consideration. Other things being equal, he ought to have been given the position. But other things were not equal. Race prejudice made them unequal. Whatever may be the individual opinion of such antipathies, so long as they are facts they must be faced honestly.

Race antagonism is the fact to be faced: but race prejudice is a delusion from which every effort should be made to liberate the white mind in America, for the good of the country. And there will be neither peace, nor security in this land until this is accomplished.

Instead of taxing the genius of the nation to find some special status for the Negro, could it not better be devoted to teaching all American citizens to love their country and to deal justly with all their fellows upon their merits and without regard to race or creed. The Civil War is the price paid by the nation for one special status for the Negro. It should never accept another.

Marjorie Delbridge is a white girl about fourteen years of age. When she was about two weeks old her mother in the South gave her to a Negro woman, Mrs. Camille Jackson. Mrs. Jackson has had the care and custody of this girl during all these years. The girl has grown almost to womanhood with her Negro mother and there is an affection between them which survives the arrest of the girl and the efforts of her pretended friends to force her to disdain all Negro people. The girl has been educated and given music and brought to the best educational facilities of Chicago.

A charge is made against the girl by a white juvenile officer, that the girl is incorrigible, in order to invoke the great and sovereign power of the state of Illinois to take

this girl from Mrs. Jackson for no reason except that she is a Negro woman. The charge is a mere pretext. It was openly stated by the prosecution that the motive of the proceedings was to afford an opportunity to take this girl from her Negro home and place her in some white family. And accordingly this was done by a judge from Chicago Heights whom it is claimed was sitting in the Circuit Court without having been designated as the statutes require. An injunction has been filed against the judge and he is now sitting in one of the Municipal Courts of the city. Both the girl and Mrs. Jackson and some white friends are resisting the action of the court to the utmost. And the case will be taken to the Supreme Court.

In the meantime it is well to inquire, are we drifting backward to the days of Dred Scott, when a Negro had no right which a white man was bound to respect?

In these stirring times we may profit by reviewing the error of those who introduced slavery to the Western continent and temporized with its evils for over two hundred and fifty years.

#### GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF SLAVERY

The political and economic policies which dominated the European conquest and settlement of the West India Islands and the American continents are chiefly responsible for the present day Negro problem. Those who did not appreciate the moral wrong of taking the lands of the Indians in the West Indies and the Americas and where possible reducing the native inhabitants to slavery were not likely to foresee all the pains and penalties which have followed the substitution of the Negro for the Indian as a slave.

Just how the Negro was enslaved instead of the Indian in the Western world is disclosed by Sir Arthur Helps, page 71, Volume II, *Great Epochs in American History*, in describing the Spanish scheme for the settlement of the West Indies in the following words:

In connection with the above scheme, Las Casas, unfortunately for his reputation in after ages, added another provision, namely, that each Spanish resident in the island should have license to import a dozen Negro slaves. The origin of this suggestion was, as he informs us, that the Colonists had told him that, if license were given them to import a dozen Negro slaves each, they, the Colonists, would then set free the Indians.

The introduction of Negro slavery in the West Indies and the Americas, therefore, must not be taken for granted that it was either an accident or was inspired by high and humane regard for the Indian. The real reason was economic necessity as disclosed by Sir Arthur Helps on page 74.

In referring further to Las Casas and Negro slavery he said:

This suggestion of his about the Negroes was not an isolated one. Had all his suggestions been carried out, and the Indians thereby been preserved, as I firmly believe they might have been, these Negroes might have remained a very insignificant number in the population. By the destruction of the Indians a void in the laborious part of the community was being constantly created, which had to be filled up by the labor of Negroes. The Negroes could bear the labor in the mines much better than the Indians; and any man who perceived that a race, of whose Christian virtues and capabilities he thought highly, were fading away by reason of being subjected to labor which their natures were incompetent to endure, and which they were most unjustly condemned to, might prefer the misery of the smaller number of another race treated with equal injustice, but more capable of enduring it.

The injustice of seizing the lands of the Indians was followed by the injustice of enslaving them. The injustice of enslaving the Indian led to the injustice of enslaving the Negro instead. The successful enslavement of the Negro in the West Indies led to its expansion and establishment in the United States, with all its subsequent pains and problems.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF RACE SITUATION

To understand in the smallest way the subtle and complex complications of the present race situation in the United States, with all its absurdities, contradictions and

tragedies, it is necessary to bear in mind the great physical facts which constitute the historical basis of American interracial contact and behavior.

It would be very difficult to select language now to convey the true and complete significance of the landing of twenty Negroes at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, to remain for two hundred and fifty years in the status of slaves. The moral and social injustice of this apparently simple but far-reaching act has remained ever since a constant challenge against the attainment and realization of a democracy founded on manhood and merit instead of race and color.

One of the important things to remember concerning the introduction of slavery in the United States is that Negro slavery based on ethnic distinctions as it existed in 1860 was no ready-made affair suddenly adopted but was the gradual result of two hundred and fifty years of evolutionary growth and development.

The economic system under which the colonies in 1619 were peopled and developed was that of indentured labor. The development of colonies was a privilege, granted by the crown to some company in which the King was a large share-holder. To protect the company from loss of the expense in transporting labor to the colony the emigrant laborer was required to contract to labor in service for a fixed and definite term of years. This system governed the white labor forces of practically all the colonies.

So that it became very natural to introduce the Negro into America as an indentured laborer, bound to service for a fixed period as the white laborer, and subsequently and gradually to so alter the system that the term of service was extended to life and offspring and the subjects were limited to members of the Negro race.

The terrible injustice and moral injury and outrage of the Negro slave system upon both races were so enormous that it could never have been adopted except as it was by such slow transitions as to disarm the people of their increasing evil and growth. And herein lies the awful warning and great lesson of Negro slavery.

Slavery of the Negro was unsuccessful in the Northern



States for a number of reasons: (1) the climate was unfavorable and made slavery too expensive; (2) it was antagonistic to the free labor system indispensable to Northern progress and development; (3) and it was opposed by the moral conscience of the North for a time suppressed for economic considerations. The Northern slave owners, therefore, either emancipated their slaves or sold them to Southern planters.

From the beginning of slavery to 1790, with the exception of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Negro slavery had not been very generally practiced; for in the 17 states and the District of Columbia the total and slave Negro population was only 757,181; and it was the prevailing opinion among the leaders of the nation that slavery was on the decline at the adoption of the Constitution and that in time the institution would naturally disappear.

Anti-slavery sentiment was so strong that the word slave was excluded from the Constitution although the Southern States were finally conceded representation in part in Congress for their slaves based on population, to be "determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons," the three-fifths of all other persons having direct reference to Negro slaves.

The decline of slavery seemed so assured that the ordinance of 1787 was passed by Congress forever prohibiting slavery in the Northwest territory, which now includes the states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and part of Ohio. And Thomas Jefferson persuaded the legislature of the slave state of Virginia, to cede this territory to the General Government with this anti-slavery prohibition.

Although slavery was on the decline the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney about 1793 revived and gave new life to the institution by increasing the economic value of the slave in enlarged capacity to render economic returns to his master. Demand for slaves increased so immediately and they were imported into the country so rapidly that Congress felt the necessity to prohibit their importation after 1808.

Yet notwithstanding this prohibition the Negro population increased from a little less than 800,000 in 1790 to 4,500,000 in 1860.

Soon after the revival of slavery the country began to divide along sectional lines, the North representing anti-slavery and the South the slave power and both had their representations in Congress.

Henceforth the nation was to witness these two great factors in a struggle for supremacy until the one or the other was to dominate and control the political functions of the American government.

Their first great contest was in 1820, which ended in the Missouri Compromise, and which while admitting Missouri as a slave state, prohibited slavery north of what was called Mason and Dixon's Line, 36° and 30' north latitude. In this contest the feelings engendered were so strong the bitterness so great and the threat to destroy the Union so evident, that the opinion prevailed that the peace and welfare of the country required that all public agitation and discussion of this question should cease.

Following the revival of slavery by the cotton gin, the admission of Missouri as a slave state in 1820, and the formation of the Abolition Movement by William Lloyd Garrison about 1831, the slave power began to plan for the extension of slave territory.

Under this view the war with Mexico was precipitated in 1846 and the present states of Utah, New Mexico and California were acquired in 1848.

Another crisis was approaching taxing the ability of the nation to survive. California was seeking to be admitted as a free state. The North was demanding her admission and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The South was opposing the admission of California as a free state and demanding an efficient fugitive-slave law to counteract the growing influence of the radical anti-slavery agitation with its potent and mysterious underground railroad.

The situation was relieved by what is known as the Compromise of 1850, in accord with which California was ad-

mitted as a free state, and slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. The Wilmot proviso as to Utah and New Mexico was defeated and a rigid fugitive-slave law was enacted for the South.

But the beginning of the nation's great crisis was the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill about 1854, which repealed the provisions of the Missouri Compromise as to the introduction of slavery north of 36° 30' north latitude and subjected these territories to the invasion of slavery under the doctrine of squatter sovereignty.

The issue of thus extending slavery into the North and West, as raised by the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, led with increasing complexity to the Civil War.

As a result of the armed clash between the North and South, the South was subdued and the War Amendments were written into the National Constitution. The evident purpose of these amendments was to secure to the Negro citizen the same freedom, protection and legal status as are enjoyed by other citizens of the states and the United States. In accord with these amendments the constitutions and laws of the slave states were reconstructed and the Negro citizen entered upon his new civil duties as an American freeman.

#### THE PSYCHIC BASIS OF RACE QUESTION

Although the progress of the Negro during the past fifty years together with the development of all the sciences, and especially ethnology and anthropology, show how false has been the teaching in America concerning the Negro race, yet there is some psychic and sociological basis for present interracial feeling in the United States.

Habit is one of the strongest forces in nature. It is so in a nation. Habits of long standing are difficult to break and overcome. In slavery for 250 years it was the habit to treat the Negro slave as property with no rights aside from the master's will. The white people are great but they are human and it must take sometime to destroy the race habits of the master practiced toward the Negro as a slave for so long a period.

If the sociological habit of the white race were all there was to the situation it would have been broken with Negro emancipation; but there were certain intellectual errors regarding the races which were established through generations of education and social environment and which are embedded in European and American literature to this day.

The white social mind was inoculated with the diseased germs of the Negro's physical, mental, moral and social inferiority by nature, and intoxicated by the conceited doctrine of the natural superiority of the white race. Upon the authority of science and literature the nations were made to believe that the white race was the sole originator of civilization and the most beautiful and the highest branch of human creation; that the Negro had made no contributions to civilization, was the lowest possible form of man and fit therefore only to be a slave. These false racial philosophies were put forth to conserve the vested slave interest of the world. And although physical slavery is gone, the intellectual slavery of the white race remains.

We can understand, therefore, the statement of Professor Hart, in the *Southern South*.

Race measured by race the Negro is inferior, and his past history in Africa and in America, leads to the belief that he will remain inferior in race stamina and race achievement.

The scholars of the master classes who employed their scholarship to justify the enslavement of the Negro lost their cause and they are now succeeded by a school which seeks to justify the subserviency of the Negro race.

Of this school, in *Retrospection*, Mr. H. H. Bancroft shows that he is a fair representative. Speaking of the Negro he says:

He is too incompetent and unreliable for any use; as a citizen of the commonwealth he is an unmitigated nuisance, and judging from the past he will so remain. He depends upon the white men to do his mental work, his thinking and managing for him, preferring himself only to serve. He is by nature and habit a servant, not alone because of his long period of enslavement, but because of his mental inferiority.

## PSYCHIC EMANCIPATION OF THE CAUCASIAN

We now have not only learned the error of the scientific and literary advocates of the Caucasian slave vested interests in this country and abroad and their present representatives who plead for Negro race subserviency, but we have learned much truth concerning what are called the Caucasian and Negro races. The real problem is now to get this truth in the present Caucasian mind and to expunge from the literature of this and other countries the false doctrines and statements therein concerning the races of men.

In this splendid work Prof. Franz Boas is without doubt America's foremost scholar and scientist. His *The Mind of Primitive Man* is in America what the *Race Prejudice* by Jean Finot is in France.

From these two revolutionary and illuminating books we now know that in nature there is but one race, the human race, for no standard has ever been adopted which included all the so-called members of any race group to the exclusion of all other racial varieties; that there is no naturally superior and inferior races, for in all are to be found examples of the highest and lowest men; that the historical fact of achievement does not prove capacity and ability in any one race, for civilization is the product of all races; that the Caucasian race has no monopoly upon beauty and the human features, which are to be found in all races; that the Negro is an important contributor to civilization; that in the light of the Negro's progress in America and other stimulating environment, his retardation has little or no bearing upon race capacity in view of man's long life on earth and the natural unity of the human race; that the range of difference and variation within race types is greater than the difference between the races; that language is not a sufficient standard for measuring the ability of races for cultural attainment; that all the essentially valuable social activities are found in the native Negro African; that the Negro thrives better in the Caucasian climate than the Caucasian in the African Negro tropics; and that the qual-

ity of the hair, the color of the skin or the shape of the head have no bearing upon the intellectual, moral and social worth of men and races, and that all races are naturally equal.

In the exact words of Professor Boas:

We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove beyond the powers of the Negro.

Under the inspiration of this new science Americans of all races are yet to build a new and true democracy. The advocates of Negro and race subserviency, the conformists and temporizers of the day may make the work both dangerous and difficult, but it must be done, if the American democracy is to endure in peace, freedom and prosperity.

### THE NATIONAL RACE CRISIS

The political oligarchy of the South has nullified the national Constitution which guarantees to the citizens of all the states the equal protection of the law. By its doctrines of race orthodoxy the white South has excluded the Negro from any participation in government and has established by state constitutional and other devices a social and political program which forever dooms the Negro citizens to an inferior and helpless status with no rights except to serve the Caucasian race, still dominated by the arrogant and exploiting theories of natural race superiority.

To suppress in the Negro, the rightful and natural ambition to labor, progress and contribute, as other citizens, his best to his community and country, the Southern States have resorted to forms of cruelty and barbarous practices which have brought reproach upon the American people in every quarter of the globe.

By violating the Federal Constitution and by wrongfully reducing the Negro people to a sub-citizen slave caste founded on race, one white voter South is equivalent to from 2 to 5 voters North.

By the unconstitutional and wrongful advantage which the South has secured by the adoption of its un-American

and undemocratic political and social systems, the representatives of the Southern political oligarchy and aristocratic régime were able to name the President of the United States in 1916.

This political oligarchy has always denied the right of the Federal Government to interfere in any manner with elections in Southern States; yet in 1916, it invoked and used the great power of the Federal Government to invade with investigators Northern and Western States and by suspect notices and other devices disfranchised thousands of voters of Northern States.

The white South will tolerate no discussion of its social and political systems in its territory; yet it takes advantage of the freedom of the North to spread its unjust and inhuman propaganda of race orthodoxy and race inferiority.

For the next four years this Southern oligarchy will have in its behalf, the example, the prestige and the power of the government of the United States in every Northern state and in almost every capital of the world.

The nullification of the National Constitution has been accomplished.

The spirit and ideals of the American people and institutions have been violated.

The permanent and free status of the Negro is seriously and dangerously jeopardized.

The subversion of American morality is about to be consummated.

The true principles of American democracy are on trial.

Shall we have the New Slavery, founded on race and color or shall we have the New Democracy, where all men and races are in fact free and equal before the law?

What shall the answer be?

## AMERICAN INTERESTS IN CHINA: THE EXACT SITUATION

*By Rev. Gilbert Reid, D.D., of The International Institute of China*

It is now becoming clear that the war going on in Europe affects not only all European countries, but countries the other side of the globe—countries spoken of as at “the ends of the earth,” of which China is the most conspicuous member. The way all countries, particularly China, are affected will be seen to be, on careful investigation, a way to be reprehended rather than to be encouraged. The effects are bad, without any apparent good.

One further reflection on these extraordinary conditions is this: American interests in China, as well as China herself, are being affected in a way serious, but intricate and obscure. Men's views about the two groups of belligerents, or rather their personal prejudices, come in to re-shape the whole policy of America's position in China. I will cite some expressions made in China, and some in America, all of which show that the American-Chinese question is after all an international question.

There are three American enterprises being projected in China. One the railway enterprise and Grand Canal conservation scheme of Siems and Carey of St. Paul, backed up by New York financiers. The second is an industrial loan to China from Chicago bankers. The third is the Chinese-American Products Exchange Company, initiated by ex-Mayor Rose of Milwaukee, and espoused by enterprising men in the southern states.

The big enterprise of Siems and Carey, on being made known, was at once opposed by the legations in Peking of Great Britain, Russia, France and Japan. It may here be noticed that these four nations are bound together in the Entente. The mere fact that these four nations have rail-



way schemes and concessions of their own is not sufficient reason for their seeking hot-haste to obstruct an American scheme and concession. Germany has had and still has, in spite of the war, railway schemes and concessions, but at no time has she frustrated the plans of Americans. The opposition has largely died away through firm stand taken by both the United States and China, but it has shown that these four Entente nations have some very lop-sided ideas concerning the "open door" in China.

The circumstances attending the opposition to the industrial loan by Chicago bankers are very much of the same character. The bankers of the same four Entente countries were the ones to hasten to make inquiries or enter protests. The other member of the quintuple group, the German banker—not yet ejected from the group—was rather in favor of re-participation by Americans in the loan business. These four nations had no money to lend, why should they oppose an American loan? Even Japan, the most flourishing of the four, has been anxious to borrow from America to push business in China. This opposition has also died away, but it ought to be a lesson to American business men to discriminate more accurately between friends and foes.

We now come to the third American enterprise, not latest in its initiation, but latest in receiving publicity, namely, the Chinese-American Products Exchange Company. We give special attention to this enterprise, because the opposition it has received has come, not from the Entente peoples, but from fellow-Americans. It will be found, however, that this American opposition may be traced back to a decidedly strong attraction to the Entente as distinct from the Central Powers. Herein the fruitage of the war shows itself in a most peculiar fashion.

American interests in China are supposed to have the support of two so-called American papers in China. The one is *The China Press*, with an American editor and British staff and patronage. The other is *The Far Eastern Review*, with George Bronson Rea, an American, as publisher, and W. H. Donald, a Britisher, as editor.

For once *The China Press* has a leader of its own. More surprising, it is on American interests. Still more surprising, it contains a criticism of the Entente. The criticism, however, is only a quotation from *The New York Times*. This is a safe process. The leader deals with the second enterprise mentioned above, that of Chicago bankers. The criticism from the great New York paper, generally pro-Ally, is in the following language:

Although Great Britain, France and Russia are borrowing hundreds of millions here, and are unable to lend, their bankers have sent to China a protest against the small loan of \$5,000,000 which the Chinese Government recently obtained from the Continental and Commercial Bank of Chicago. Japanese bankers join in making complaint.

*The Far Eastern Review* for November has separate articles on each of these three great enterprises. The one, on the first enterprise, backed by New York bankers, is commendatory. The one, on the move of Chicago financiers, treats the matter casually and even with a little dubiousness. The one, on the third enterprise, is severe in its condemnation.

Concerning the loan from Chicago bankers, it is said: "Whether it ever will be consummated remains to be seen." And this, though a telegram from home informs us, that "the loan has been three times over-subscribed in the Western States." Then why so dubious? The editor explains: "There are international strings to trip up "trespassers" in the field devoted to administrative and "industrial" loans just as there are in the field of railway loans. Some of these are now being encountered, as witness the opposition of the Consortium of Bankers at Peking, and the protest made by the Banque Industrielle with respect to the security." This is the hindrance objected to by *The New York Times*.

The article on the third enterprise appears under the name of George Bronson Rea. He has only contempt for the westerners and southerners and Pacific Coast men, who are striking out on a new line, free from the control of New York financiers.

The main idea in the minds of those concerned in this third enterprise is that the Southern Cotton States should get into *direct* business relation with China. The plan does away with so many intermediaries, whether they are in Manchester, England, or in New York. One of the objects is thus stated:

To shift the cotton trade with China from its present route via Liverpool to a direct route through the Panama Canal, cutting out the Liverpool exchange; and to shift the tea trade between China and the United States by cutting out Manchester middle men.

Another object is this:

To establish two shipping lines for the handling of the company's merchandise, one to ply between Norfolk, Va., and San Pedro, Cal., touching at Southern Atlantic and Gulf ports, and another with headquarters on the Pacific Coast to make regular sailings with the Orient.

This is very much the kind of business proposition which I advocated, when at home the last time, at the Convention of Cotton Manufacturers held in Richmond, Virginia, and in addresses at Charleston, Spartanburg and Greenville of South Carolina, in Augusta, Georgia, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and in Chicago. I urged direct business between, for instance, the port of Charleston and Shanghai, China. There should be a big corporation, I said, to sell the cotton goods at all the centres of China, in imitation of the direct methods of the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust. I found that this proposition, quite naturally, was opposed by New York firms. It is now objected to by *The Far Eastern Review* for the same reason, but more out of sympathy for the British in the present war. The war thus intrudes itself into this new business enterprise of "live" Americans.

Let us hear the wail that arises from George Bronson Rea, as he thinks of the possibilities of this newly-formed Corporation:

The men of Britain are today fighting and cheerfully dying in the trenches to preserve a great principle, vital to the future peace and security of America. If they fail, it will not be long

before the men of America will in turn have to defend the same principle. The great financiers of the United States will not support a scheme at this time having for its object the undermining of Manchester's preëminence in the cotton markets of the world; they have placed themselves on record that the great wealth which has rolled into their coffers as the result of the misfortunes of Europe, shall not be actively employed against them during the war to take away or undermine their trade; on the contrary, they hold that the huge war profits are to be held to assist and coöperate with the others in reëstablishing their stricken industries and reviving their foreign trade. This reflects the true American spirit. The *Far Eastern Review* has accepted this declaration of the American bankers uttered through their mouthpiece, Mr. Willard D. Straight, as final, and cannot therefore support any scheme whereby the credit of the Chinese Government is to be employed to strengthen a German-American attempt to circumvent this doctrine of red-blooded Americanism.

Since when have Americans received from Britons, either here, in China, or anywhere else in the world such favors, benignant consideration, equitable treatment, as to make all Americans morally obligated to rescue Manchester trade in England's sad hour of adversity?

American trade during this war has been hampered, annoyed, checked, ruined, almost exclusively by Britons. Legitimate trade in ordinary articles of daily use has met with no restriction from Germans or Austrians. Even the Japanese, so far as they were free agents, have competed in a business way, and not in terms of war. The only American trade injured by Germany has been "ammunition" trade directed "against Germany and in behalf of England."

If American cotton manufacturers and shippers can avoid the indirect route of Liverpool and Manchester, and can do business in a direct way with China, they would be "big fools," whatever the color of their patriotism, if they neglected the opportunity or shrank from the duty.

That which shows the inner mind of Mr. George Bronson Rea is in the words: "a German-American attempt." The men associated with the father of the clerk of the United States Court for China, men who receive the support of both the American and Chinese Governments should be blacklisted at once by the all-powerful, British Government.

If sufficient pressure can now be brought to bear on these two neutral Governments, trade may be saved for Manchester and relief given to the bewildered British Empire.

Mr. George Bronson Rea also sounds the alarm thus:

Reading between the lines of the above article, there is every evidence that a huge German-American intrigue has been successfully carried through for the purpose of undermining the position of Great Britain in the cotton and tea trade.

The names which stand back of this new enterprise do not disclose any German connection. Mr. Rose, indeed, comes from Milwaukee, "the stronghold of German-American propaganda in the United States," but, so far as I know, Americans of German extraction are as good business men as those of English stock, or those related by marriage with English, French, Italian and Serbian nobility.

Mr. Rea proves his point by the fact that some on the directorship are "with pronounced Teutonic names." The only ones, however, with a dubious spelling are Herman A. Metz and Carl Eshy. The former is much respected in New York city, having not only been elected to the House of Representatives, but has served on the board of education and board of charities in the great metropolis. Still, he has Teutonic blood, and should no longer receive respect of civilized men. (I am glad my own name is not Teutonic!)

Mr. Carl Eshy comes from Savannah, and even if his ancestors, as of most of the kings of Europe, are Teutonic, his training in the beautiful southern city of Savannah should be able to polish him up properly and restore him to good company.

The American commercial attachè, Mr. Julian H. Arnold, the department of commerce, and the American government, favor the enterprise, but this fact only lays them open to special criticism.

Other names are of persons of prominence. Mr. Charles Denby is in the group. So a former cabinet minister, under President Cleveland, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, and with him Senator Fletcher of Florida, and Dr. Clarence J. Owens. The last is president of the Company.

So far as I know, Mr. George Bronson Rea and Mr. W. H. Donald are both anti-Japanese and anti-German. As between England and America they are more pro-English than pro-American.

This new Company may perhaps be a little anti-British, seeing how the British have injured American trade. The directors are pro-American, and, in the operations of the Company, pro-Chinese.

This is all. There is no reason for an American to oppose American enterprise.

We now notice some ideas which have been put forth from the American end of American-Chinese enterprise.

Papers from home give us the information that the promotion of American interests in China is receiving more and more serious consideration from American business men. Merchants are beginning to see the need of government support. Trade and politics as yet cannot be separated. The time may come when commerce will rely on the worth and capacity of the business man, not on extraneous support of governments, but that time has not yet come. If merchants of one country look for openings in other lands as provided by a department of state, other merchants must ask and secure a similar support, or fail in the competition. Thus it is that "dollar diplomacy" is again being talked of among Americans.

One of the most powerful of American organizations is the American Manufacturers' Export Association. Its headquarters are in Philadelphia. Consequently many of its leaders are in sympathy with the sentiment of the Eastern States rather than of the Western and Southern.

This Association has more than once formed plans for pushing trade in American machinery among the Republics of Central and South America, and also in China and Russia. Some of these schemes as directed to China have come to naught, after considerable expenditure of money. Still, these men of enterprise do not lose their energy, zeal or ambition. They are men with big ideas. If China in the long run proves a barren soil for these ideas, these men, never disheartened, will simply turn to other countries. China not America, will be the loser.

The president of this Association at present is the well-known manufacturer, financier and man of public affairs, Alba B. Johnson. He has lately found it necessary to present to the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, a strong, but courteous, statement on the hindrance to American trade in China. I am not sure that he reads aright the political conditions of the Far East. He holds, however, a common view, one that has been put forth as Gospel truth by Mr. George Bronson Rea and Mr. Thomas F. Millard.

In May of last year this Manufacturers' Association had pointed out to the State Department the new danger. It was that

Japan, taking advantage of the occupation of other World Powers with their now affairs, was about to take strong measures in carrying out her designs with respect to China in a manner which seriously threatened the interests of American trade.

Personally I see no more objection to the Japanese having the farsightedness to form plans for replacing the European powers in the trade line, through the unusual opportunities of a protracted war, than for Americans to seize the same chance. The American government would be demeaning itself to countenance such jealousy on the part of American business men. In all probability, so far as trade in China is concerned, the Japanese during this new form of opportunity will outstrip Americans except in the case of powerful trusts like the Standard Oil. The Japanese have many advantages, and legitimate ones, too, over far-away and inexperienced Americans. Rather than try to bring political influence to bear for tripping up the nimble Japanese, it is wiser to heed Judge Gary's suggestion of co-operation between Americans and Japanese.

The American Manufacturers' Association, through its capable president, under date of November 15, has again come forward to ask the American government to put a check on a new form of Japanese energy. Reference is made to demands arising from the Cheng-Chiatun incident.

As between China and Japan, I have all along maintained that in nearly every feature of the incident Japan has

placed herself in the wrong. She loses, not perhaps in trade or in exhibition of military strength, but in gaining the confidence and esteem of the Chinese people.

As between Japan and America, the latter country cannot interfere in the Cheng-Chiatun incident.

Mr. Johnson refers thus to the Japanese menace:

The history of the Japanese activities in Manchuria is the history of the almost complete loss of American trade, not a little of which was formerly enjoyed by the members of this Association. Should the present demands be granted by China, what little business is now done by Americans with the Chinese will be cut off or reduced still further.

The American government may be appealed to concerning danger to the sovereignty of China, whether from Japan or any other country, but not concerning American business failure to keep up with the Japanese. America, along with other countries, has a treaty with China for the recognition and maintenance of China's sovereignty. Four countries have an agreement with Japan to the same end of guaranteeing China's sovereignty. Here, but not over trade, there is need for American interference or inter-position.

Mr. Johnson centers his whole thought on the trade question, and therein shows a lack of breadth of mind. The same narrow conception leads him to make Japan the menace to American interests in China. If he had understood the real conditions prevailing here, he would have described England as the menace. However, for Mr. Alba B. Johnson to have complained to the state department of England's restraint on American trade, American prestige, American rights, and American independence of individual action, in China, as he has complained of Japan, would have required a species of courage and a conviction of soul, which have been lacking in American appreciation of the far-reaching effects of the part played by the various belligerents in the war. It is somewhat a fad among certain enterprising Americans to reproach Japan. Another fad is to condone everything done by England.

At the beginning of the war England described Germany as the menace in the Far East. Japan was invited to eject



the menace. Japan recognized her opportunity, and has since struggled hard to replace Germany and everybody else, thanks to England's solicitude of soul.

In these two years and more, American merchants, and all other Americans with American ideas, have found themselves hampered, opposed, condemned, boycotted, ostracised, not so much by the Japanese, as by the Britons. The claim is that it is all legitimate, though the law set in motion is English, in contradistinction to fundamental international laws embodied in Hague Conventions, in the Declaration of Paris, and even in Viscount Grey's Declaration of London.

As between the Entente Powers and the Central Powers, American interests of the regular, permanent kind have been, in countless ways, hindered by the former, but not by the latter. As between the European members of the Entente, and Japan, the one outside member, unless we include therein British colonies, American interests have been checked and hampered by all of them, but more by Britain, France and Russia (the others are rather negative factors) than by Japan. It is therefore a question of proportions. The situation needs to be analyzed, and each separate element needs to be weighed in the scales, and then the comparison made.

Politics touch commerce. Diplomacy and business go together. American business men, in pushing new enterprises in China, need to have a thorough knowledge of the situation, and not be carried off their feet by war passions, which should be left to the belligerents. They should know what rights they have and do not have, and, having taken proper action and a correct position, should with resolution hold on, with full backing of the American Government, in the face of all kinds of opposition.

## SHALL CHINA ENTER THE WAR?<sup>1</sup>

*By Gilbert Reid, D.D., Director-in-Chief of the International  
Institute of China*

### A MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN FEBRUARY

To this question which I place at the head of this discussion I reply with full force of conviction, after over thirty years of hard work in China's behalf: "A thousand times No."

China has in the past escaped many threatening dangers, sometimes from within, sometimes from without. The escape has generally come through a few Chinese in high places of authority remaining cool and level-headed. Where dangers have not been averted, as in the Boxer year, it has been because the number of such men has been insufficient; the few sensible and patriotic ones have often offered up their lives as martyrs.

The present danger, the new form of temptation, is so different from anything known in the past, that it will be easy for the Chinese who are now in high places of authority to be beguiled, or, to use an Americanism, to be "gulled."

There is nothing new in the mere attempt to persuade China to join the Entente Allies against the two Central Powers represented diplomatically in Peking. It has been conjectured that the proposals were also aimed against Japan. Both President Yuan and President Li in these previous attempts had enough sense to reject the proposals and enough patriotism and unselfishness to spurn the enticements accompanying the proposals.

The attempt today, with the same object in view, comes to us in another form, with a far more innocent air, and

<sup>1</sup> This article was written before the United States declared war against Germany.—EDITORS.

with a greater capacity to inspire confidence, than all the previous futile attempts.

The American government, at least the diplomatic part of the government, is now taking the lead in enticing China to imitate the noble example of a sister republic and a former neutral—a neutral whose neutrality has been of the first magnitude. I do not say that China is now urged to join the Entente, particularly England and France, but that she is most affectionately and respectfully recommended to join with the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Properly, the exhortation to practise the old and easy art of imitation can only mean that China, out of mere desire to imitate, and with no other possible reason, shall also break off diplomatic relations with Germany. I do not know whether China has been counselled, as by a friend, to do more. President Wilson in making the break with Germany made the declaration, according to Reuter, "that he took it for granted that all neutrals would follow the example of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with Germany." We have a right to suppose that only this request, which in appearance is most innocent, has been made known to the Chinese Government, and nothing more.

There is a danger of taking *exaggerated* views concerning this request of the American President as concerning every thing else connected with this last lamentable clash.

Three proposals for action by the Chinese government in relation to Germany are being widely discussed. The one is to break off diplomatic relations with Germany; the second is to send a protest to Germany for her "new measures of submarine warfare;" and the third is to join the Entente in war against Germany. These three propositions are quite distinct, but in the minds of many they are getting sadly mixed. Even so keen a mind as Putnam Weale, who now longs to place "a garland round the Republic," says concerning China's protest to Germany:

In taking this first step China has opened a new and important chapter in her foreign relations; for although the maximum so far contemplated by her is simply rupture of diplomatic relations

with Germany, it is quite certain that she will not hesitate to follow wherever America may lead; and that the United States will be involved in open warfare almost immediately is certain.

This settles the matter so far as China and the United States are concerned, if Putnam Weale, a Britisher, has any chance of settling the matter. China's action of protesting is taken to be the same as the United States' action of severing diplomatic relations; and the American action is taken to be the same as entering upon open warfare. If all advice to China is thus muddled, China will find it hard to walk in the straight and narrow way of neutrality, justice and good-will.

Personally, as one concentrating attention on China's interests alone, I give no support to either of the three proposals, as bearing on China's international obligations.

The first proposal, that made by the United States government to China, that she, too, sever diplomatic relations with Germany, ought to be rejected.

I am looking at the effects on China, while President Wilson was thinking only of American interests. Whether he was right, fair and prudent in the position taken, I do not here discuss; a few weeks will show whether all Americans agree with President Wilson. Already we learn that ex-Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, does not agree with the President, though both are of the Democratic party.

Even supposing that President Wilson's move is wiser than what Solomon ever made or longed for, the inference does not follow that the Chinese republic, away out here on the Asiatic continent, would be equally wise in rushing into making the same move. Let Americans all by themselves derive all the blessings that are possible from this great transaction, but let China strive for no prize till duty alone calls her to it.

China can well wait till all the neutral governments in Europe, and then all in Central and South America, imitate the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, before she makes the same big jump. Thus far the neutral nations showed themselves more ready to sup-

port President Wilson in his plea for peace than they are now doing in his action that borders on war. China at that time did not go as far as America went or as she, a neutral nation, ought to have done. In any thing approaching the countenance of war with all its calamities, China may well find it her *duty* to do less, very much less, than the United States.

When President Wilson became a leader in the cause of peace, it was fitting for China and all neutrals to follow suit. When he, the head of a neutral nation, tries to place the full power of the American people to the side of war, though professing a passion for ultimate peace, and against one side in the great conflict, without being against the other side, in equally good reason, I sincerely hope that the last effort will come to naught, and the former effort, through other hands, be blessed of Heaven. Still more I hope that China will cleave fast to ways of peace and eschew war, unless and until China's own rights are trampled upon by whomsoever the offender.

Thus far no other neutral nation has adopted this plan of dealing with Germany; this is good reason for China to go a little slow. And yet the *Peking Gazette* in magnifying China's act speaks of her "entry into Welt-politik," and of "China associating herself with the United States"—as all "a victory of the younger intellectual forces." China is not in line with the United States, until she, too, severs connections with Germany. When China breaks off friendly relations with one group of Belligerents, she at the same time makes an entry into the Entente, but not into "welt-politik."

For an ambassador or minister to be given his passport with the request to leave for home, is not an unknown occurrence in international law. This happens in case of improper conduct on the part of the diplomat. A rare occurrence, and a more serious affair is that of severing all relations with another government. This is a break in friendship, a cessation of cordiality; it is very close to actual hostilities. Unless the reasons for so acting are very strong—unless there is no alternative—the action by every possible means should be avoided.

The American President declared the cessation of friendly relations with Germany, not *after* any American interests or rights had been injured, but only on the receipt of a warning from Germany. China's interests and rights are not being injured by German blockade of Britain, France and Italy, not injured as through the high-handedness of certain other countries—why, then, should she break off diplomatic relations with Germany and possibly with Austria-Hungary?

This break with Germany on the part of the United States can by an effort rest on usages established by international law, but China in making the same kind of a break could find a precedent nowhere in the treatises on international law, not even those which have been put forth by American experts. A prodigy would be needed to concoct a reason from the new German blockade why the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs should hand passport to the German minister and request him to leave for his own or the nearest friendly country. What may prove reasonable for the United States would be senseless for China. What has she to do with German blockade or German submarine warfare?

Furthermore, though the blockade by England through use of mines was prior to the German declaration of blockade and was meant to be detrimental to all neutrals trying to reach Germany, and though the blockade was also a blockade of Denmark and Holland, the United States has made no protest or broken off relations with England. China would be fair and sensible if she paid no attention to either blockade and remained fair to all.

For China to break off relations with Germany would be an unfriendly act. It would also be an unfair act, unless she broke off relations with England also, who first declared a blockade to the total subversion of neutral rights.

If China were a strong nation, she need not worry about one less or one more national friend. Being weak, she should aim to keep the friendship of all, and not commit an hostile act, sure to be paid back by an irrevocable law at some future time.

For two years and more Germany has given China less trouble than England or France or Japan; why, then, turn on her as on an enemy? It is no light thing for China, away out here on the edge of Asia, to sever all connections with Germany over a life-and-death struggle taking place in Europe, particularly between Germany and England.

The second plan, that of entering a protest, has already been followed by the Chinese government, but we are afraid, without due consideration of its serious import.

Submarine warfare, North Sea blockades, war zones, and all such things, are part of the horrible war. For the moment England and Germany are the chief contestants—a contest as to which one can first starve out the other. All other nations, especially if they profess neutrality; should keep at a respectable distance. If China wants to do any “exhorting,” she should first exhort her men citizens not to go as so many coolies to France or England while war is on, and, secondly, if they must go, to keep away from all war zones on land and sea.

To say the least, it looks rather laughable for China to send a warning, an admonition, and instruction, to Germany, as to the way she should carry on war. If the ruthlessness is the ground of advice, then the advice should be given to England as well as to Germany, for the purpose of both is the same, namely, *to starve the enemy*. There is less intention by Germany than by England to injure neutrals. England allows no entry to Germany; while Germany clearly defines a safe passage to an English port.

If China, as her note declares, is going to sever relations with Germany, in addition to a rather strong protest, “to further the cause of the world’s peace” and for the “maintenance of the sanctity of international law,” she is adopting a most inconsistent procedure, and one that is lop-sided. To be fair, China must do the same with England, for her violations of international law are as “sand which is upon the seashore for multitude.”

Seeing that China has already sent in her protest, thus imitating other neutral countries, who are closely affected, let her stop there, and go no further, lest a worse and more incongruous blunder be thereby committed.

Back of all this distracting discussion there lies in the Chinese mind something more serious, far-reaching and apparently more far-sighted than the simple matter of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany. The idea is that China join the Entente, particularly England and France, with whom the United States is now supposed to be a new partner.

This is the third plan against which China ought to be solemnly and earnestly warned.

The hint is thrown out, as in former attempts, that *China can thus offset and resist the encroachments of Japan*. Here is a fascinating, advantageous, and hence sensible alliance for China to seize, ere the chance be let slip. An alliance of England, France and the United States has already been talked about as best guarantee of future peace. For China to be requested to join this group, how honoring, how promising, how complimentary!

Personally I do not believe that future peace can come through the rivalries of alliances. Even Mr. Asquith has expressed himself against this grouping of nations. Neither do I believe in "entangling alliances" for my own country, whatever may be advocated by President Wilson in contradistinction to the sage advice of President Washington. Beyond all this I do not believe in aid of this political scheming for China. I see no reason for abandoning the old theory of the "open door," even should any number of foreign powers plan its overthrow, as has been tried before. To eject all Germans and Austrians from China, from this time forth forever more, may be desirable for British and French and pro-Ally Americans, but its consummation will mean that China, too, under foreign tutelage is taught to break treaties, while the whole lot of them will go back on every high principle and holy aim they have ever professed. I am ashamed that any of my countrymen have done even a little to lead China away from the straight path of righteousness and fair-dealing. Let China be not deceived. She will reap no harvest of national security, if she takes from another and plants in the good old soil the seed of injustice.



Even as a matter of prudence China should be warned. This grouping process, the cause of the present war, will, as sure as fate, stir up a rival group. All the nations are not forever going to follow at the beck and call of England. One alliance will lead to another alliance. China, in taking sides, will be too weak to prevent being crushed in the world's great pinchers.

The Chinese and their foreign friends have heretofore regretted that the war has been brought into China. Now it is proposed that China enter the war.

When England and Japan attacked Tsingtao and ignored China's neutrality by marching troops across Chinese territory, in the face of protest, then reason could have been found for going to war with these two interlopers.

When Japan forced on China twenty-four demands, accompanied by an ultimatum, then was the time, if ever, for China to go to war.

When France in her usual high-handedness, that is, usual for China, encroached on Chinese territory in Tientsin, and would not yield to China's just arguments, then was the time, if ever, for China to go to war.

For China, after all this mild acquiescence to Entente Powers, or what Mr. Eugene Chen of the *Peking Gazette* might call "spineless diplomacy," to now join these same Entente Powers and declare war against Germany for measures of warfare around British and French shores—measures no better and no worse than those of England—would show a form of diplomacy not exactly "spineless" but, worse than that, deranged. The plaudits of Entente advisers, with a gentle refrain from my own country, may rush China into war, but, if so, there will be only one more folly to be added to various follies of past years, leading China more and more into the meshes.

This war is like a vast conflagration. Instead of rushing into the fire and adding fuel to the flames, it would be better for China, and, to my way of thinking, for America, too, to stay on the outside and do every thing in human power to check the raging flames and rescue lives from the midst of the "burning fiery furnace."

My own advice, then, is that China reject all three proposals for getting entangled; that she maintain her neutral spirit—far more neutral than most Americans have been; and that she treat all nations with the same spirit of fairness, cultivating cordial relations with all, and presenting to all the same opportunities for trade, enlightenment, and respectful diplomatic relationship. This advice of mine may be rejected, as other advice I was wont to give in days of Manchu rule, but in giving it, I do it in all sincerity, looking solely for China's good.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*The Physical Basis of Society.* BY CARL KELSEY, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1916.

This book by the professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, is a veritable encyclopedia of scientific information. This encyclopedic character applies to the material in every chapter. The author has gleaned far and near and brought together in an interesting manner and accurate form the results of multitudes of research investigations. The extent of the compilation here represented becomes impressive as one notes the headings of the chapters: Earth and Man; Mutual Aid and the Struggle for Existence; the Control of Nature; the Evolution of Man; Heredity; Heredity and Society; Race Differences; Sex Differences; Influences of Society upon Population; Social Institutions; and The Nature of Progress. It is at once evident that to treat adequately all these important subjects within the space of 400 pages is an impossibility, and yet the author has succeeded in condensing a really astonishing amount of matter into this rather small space.

The fundamental criticism of the work would seem to be that it is a mere compilation and consequently lacks theoretical interest and solidity. Multitudes of facts are introduced apparently for their mere interest as facts without any significance for the development or illustration of a scientific principle. Thus the first 28 pages in their entirety seem to lack any particular significance for the subject of the book. The facts of soil and air analysis, of strata of life in the Great Lakes, etc., are sufficiently obvious in most cases, as is also their general significance as regards conditions essential to the life of plants and animals. But just why most of this matter should have been brought into a treatise relating to society is not clear from the author's own statement. These twenty-eight pages are not utilized in the later pages of the chapter where the influences of the physical world on man are discussed. If these pages are designed to give a picture of cosmic evolution then they are very patchy, disconnected, and inadequate. The cosmos is not made to evolve. There is a lack of imagination and generality in the treatment.

This whole chapter like most of the others would have been greatly improved by a more philosophical treatment of the earlier pages and especially by a larger amount of historical and anthropological data, such as Semple and Ratzel give.

The character of the work is well illustrated by the third chapter, for example, which is little better than a mere catalog of instances of man's increasing utilization of material resources and processes. To mention only a few of these we find here mentioned phosphorus, fisher's nets, land per capita, carbon, coal, petroleum, stone, bronze, steel, steam engine, electricity, electrolysis, animal and plant domestication, quinine, rubber and numerous other plants, cold storage, hot houses, artificial selection in plants and animals, the dog, the cat, cattle, the ass, swine, camels, horses, the goat, chickens, sheep, silk worm, bees, oysters, fishes, etc. The foregoing are treated in the first three-fifths of a chapter, the latter two-fifths of which deals with the effects of bacteriological investigation and the control of numerous diseases. Incidentally one may call attention to the chart, page 141, the source of which is not indicated.

In the chapter on the Evolution of Man we find only 5½ pages devoted to that subject and 35 devoted to a history of men's ideas regarding the creation and the evolution of earth and man. Here we have brief glimpses of ideas from the days of Aristotle to the present. A mere list of the names of those whose views are touched upon would fill a page. The value of this encyclopedic catalog is highly questionable. The student of sociology inquiring into the evolution of man acquires little of value in knowing that the Greeks were in their philosophical speculations, "approaching the idea of the 'reign of law.'" But the Greek nation was tottering and soon to fall. The Romans were interested in other problems and the only one even to mention the scientific attitude was Lucretius (50 B.C.) whom Clodd calls the "first anthropologist." There follows a few lines on the "oriental idea." Then a paragraph on the early Christian, one on Augustine, and in a few pages are recounted the doctrines of Aquinas, Ambroses, Peter Lombard, Wesley, Luther, Bartholomew, an English Franciscan, various other church fathers, the Protestant Reformation, etc. The latter part of the chapter, beginning with the treatment of Erasmus Darwin (pages 167-189) is much more significant in its matter and much better written. The author's scholarship is undoubtedly good, but here again we are introduced to various controverted points and a sketchy treatment of dif-

ferent aspects of Lamarckianism, natural selection, sexual selection, etc., and the reception of Darwinism by the thought of his day, all in 12 or 15 pages; these are followed by a survey of the zoölogical system in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pages and certain features of the evolution of man, as above mentioned, in 5 or 6 pages. These last pages expose the weakness of the author's method. They do not convey any adequate conception of our present knowledge regarding the actual evolution of man in its palaeontological, phylogenetic, or anthropological aspects. The emphasis is most unfortunately placed for latter day readers who would eagerly welcome a summary of present knowledge.

The foregoing sufficiently characterizes the book and exposes its most glaring defects. One notices the omission of lines of investigation which are of utmost current interest, such as the entire mass of phylogenetic studies begun by Haeckel, the studies of the Eugenics Laboratory on assortative and preferential mating, fecundity of the social classes, selective birth and death rates, the question of the handicapping of the first born, the part played by sexual selection and natural selection in the human race, and indeed a very large proportion of the current information bearing particularly upon the social aspects of the matters discussed. It would seem that throughout the author has been so overwhelmed with the mass of scientific data developed in physics, chemistry and biology and so interested in the history of thought in various fields that there has not been room to relate his information sufficiently to social problems. Nevertheless the book serves most excellently as an introduction to a considerable range of scientific information for the general reader and as a stimulating text for college classes.

**F. H. HANKINS.**

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